

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Ex-agent exposes gov't lies about FBI informers

By Larry Seigle

JAN. 17—A vast conspiracy to cover up crimes of FBI informers has begun to unravel.

M. Wesley Swearingen, a recently retired FBI agent, has provided evidence that the number two man in the FBI gave false information under oath in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government.

The fabricated testimony is the foundation on which the Carter administration has based its refusal to turn over files on the activities of eighteen FBI informer-provocateurs used against the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Carter's attorney general, Griffin Bell, has even gone to the unprecedented length of placing himself in contempt of court rather than hand over these files.

At this very moment, a federal court of appeals is deciding whether to sustain the contempt citation against

Continued on page 6

MASSES TOPPLE SHAH



TEHRAN—Demonstrators celebrate shah's flight by pulling down statue of his father. See page 4.

IRAN:
What
way
forward?

Joseph Hansen dies in New York

NEW YORK, Jan. 18—Joseph Hansen (1910-1979), longtime leader of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party, died here today. Hansen, who joined the Trotskyist movement in 1934, was editor of the weekly socialist magazine, *Intercontinental Press*, and a former editor of the *Militant*. He served in Mexico as secretary to Leon Trotsky.

A memorial meeting has been scheduled for Hansen at 3:00 p.m., Sunday, January 28,

in New York City. It will be held at Manhattan's Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West (between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets). Messages to the meeting should be sent in care of the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Next week's *Militant* will carry more on the life of this outstanding leader in the fight for the emancipation of working people and the oppressed throughout the world.



JOSEPH HANSEN (1910-1979)

Carter's 'new era'

The Democratic Party has long posed as the party of progressive reform, the party of the poor, the oppressed, and working people generally. The performance never matched the campaign rhetoric, of course, but now it seems we aren't even going to get the promises.

Stuart Eizenstat, Carter's chief domestic adviser and touted as the arch-liberal of the White House, warned in a January 4 speech against clinging to "past memories of a by-gone time that cannot be repeated." The Democratic Party, he said, must reshape its "traditional beliefs and commitments" to conform to a "new era" and "new realities." He said the administration's 1980 budget offers "as much as we could afford to do."

What Carter can "afford" for working people and the poor is not much. He proposes:

- Cuts in public service jobs—from 750,000 in the spring of 1978 to less than 500,000 by the end of 1980.
- Cuts in spending for school lunch programs, food stamps, and other social-welfare spending.
- Scaling back expenditures for public housing.
- Cutbacks in health and education programs.

It would take \$15 to \$16 billion more than is allocated in Carter's budget just to maintain the pitifully inadequate social programs that exist today.

To top it off, *Time* magazine noted January 22, Carter "will propose the first significant cuts ever made in Social Security benefits." These benefit cuts, it should be emphasized, will come at the same time that Social Security taxes are being raised.

Meanwhile, one area of the budget will continue to expand even faster than the rate of inflation—war spending. The military budget will climb from \$112 billion to about \$123 billion.

If this "new era" sounds suspiciously like the austerity drive inaugurated under the Republican administrations of Nixon and Ford, there is good reason. Faced with the

"new realities" of a crisis-wracked world capitalist economy, austerity and an across-the-board attack on the needs of working people are the *bipartisan* response.

Under the guise of fighting inflation, Carter calls for a 7 percent limit on wage increases—a ceiling that will ensure the decline of workers' purchasing power.

Workers who resist having their real wages cut will have to face the power of the federal government. Thus, Carter declared January 15, "I can't think of anything more damaging to the economy than a sustained Teamsters' strike." Should such a strike occur, Carter promised that "either I or the Congress would have to act very rapidly" to break it.

At the same time, Carter is pushing ahead with his inflationary plan to boost domestic oil prices to the world market level. This will be a bonanza for the energy corporations, and another painful blow to the American people.

When it comes to enriching the giant corporations and spending billions to protect their investments around the world, Carter seems able to afford a lot more than for the human needs of American workers.

Carter and Eizenstat's proclamation of the new era of Democratic Party cutbacks underlines the futility of relying on any wing of either party to defend the interests of working people. Carter's austerity drive can only be answered by massive, independent protests uniting labor, Blacks, women, and others who suffer from these policies.

To give such protests an effective political voice, a complete break with the two capitalist parties and the organization of a labor party based on the unions ought to be next on the agenda.

Why Abzug got fired

It was the president's first and last meeting with his National Advisory Committee on Women.

Immediately after the January 12 meeting, Carter unceremoniously dumped co-chair Bella Abzug. In protest, twenty-six of the committee's forty members quit, including co-chair Carmen Delgado Votaw; Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women; and Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

This came less than five months after Carter

forced Margaret Costanza to resign as his special assistant on women's affairs.

Carter had created the advisory committee to appear responsive to issues raised at the 15,000-strong National Women's Conference in Houston in 1977.

The committee had been scheduled to meet with Carter last November. But the presidential appointees canceled that meeting in protest when they discovered Carter was only allotting them fifteen minutes.

After the January 12 meeting, the administration said Abzug was fired because she "attempted to lecture the president." (That's White House-ese for "uppity.")

Actually, Abzug had emerged to tell reporters that the meeting had been "very satisfactory," praising Carter for being "very generous with his time."

But Abzug and other committee members face the same dilemma as the current misleaders of the Black and union movements: They are all under pressure from those they claim to represent to take at least verbal distance from Carter's cutthroat economic policies. But they don't want to break with the administration and the Democratic Party.

Yet Carter's policies exclude the possibility of advances for women. In fact, women, along with minorities, are the prime victims of government cutbacks.

A body such as the Advisory Committee on Women has no reason to exist, however, unless it can maintain the illusion that it speaks up for women and that the president in turn is responsive to it.

Carter's budget proposals torpedoed that fiction.

The advisory committee distributed a critical news release to the media before its meeting with Carter.

It "warned [Carter] that the Administration's anti-inflation program will impose additional burdens upon women in increased unemployment [and] cutbacks in social programs."

The committee also "was critical of the Administration's proposed 10 percent increase in the military budget" and "urged the President to change his position" on Medicaid funding for abortions.

Carter is only interested in an "advisory committee" if it snaps to attention behind his attacks on women's rights. When his appointees were forced to balk a bit, he decided to get himself a new committee.

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Young Socialists set 1979 plans

The recent Young Socialist Alliance national convention voted to step up campaigns against nuclear power and for Black majority rule in South Africa. **Page 14.**



Capitalists bleed cities dry

Cleveland is in default. New York City faces another round of staggering budget cuts. Why should workers pay for problems caused by big business? **Pages 9-11.**

Defend affirmative action!

'Reverse discrimination' lawsuit by Brian Weber (right) threatens all working people, say socialist leaders. They urge a campaign to rally support for rights of unions, Blacks, and women. **Page 12.**



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Strikes hit price hikes

Peruvian junta jails opponents

By Fred Murphy

Peru's military dictatorship jailed hundreds of trade-union and political leaders between January 4 and 11 in an effort to stop a general strike.

The strike began January 9 and was to have lasted three days. It was called by the biggest Peruvian union federation, the CGTP, in response to the regime's latest "austerity" measures—a 20 percent hike in the price of gasoline and increases of up to 35 percent on such vital food products as sugar, milk, and bread.

On January 6 the government declared a "state of national emergency" and sent heavily armed troops into the industrial districts, working-class neighborhoods, and shopping areas of Lima and other major cities. Cops carrying rifles rode the buses, and tanks controlled the streets.

Gatherings of more than three persons were prohibited. The police were authorized to search homes and make arrests without warrants. Seven independent weekly periodicals were banned. (Peru's daily newspapers and radio and television are all government-owned; the weeklies are thus the main source of accurate information.)

The junta combined these moves with some concessions. The food price increases were suspended, and pay hikes of up to 30 percent were authorized for wage workers in both the public and private sectors.

Meanwhile, the top leaders of the CGTP, which is controlled by the Communist Party, went about organizing the strike in a sectarian and bureaucratic way. They refused to open the strike committee to the more militant independent unions—such as the miners, teachers, and public employees—and rejected participation by other workers parties or by organizations based in the huge shantytowns where tens of thousands of the poorest workers live.

As a result of all this, Peruvian workers did not participate in the massive way they had in earlier general strikes in July 1977 and February and May 1978.

While some cities in the interior were reportedly paralyzed on the first day of the strike, most miners, about half the bank workers, and many transport workers stayed on the job. Large numbers of strikers returned to the factories in Lima on January 10, and later in the day the CGTP leadership declared an end to the work stoppage.

But the regime did not halt its attacks on the workers movement. On January 11, the political police raided the Lima headquarters of the Communist Party and arrested thirty-five persons, including the editor of the party's newspaper and leaders of the Communist Youth.

A government radio broadcast on January 12 singled out Hugo Blanco—the Trotskyist leader and delegate to the Constituent Assembly—as one of those "responsible" for the strike. The broadcast said Blanco and the CGTP

'Release USLA executive secretary!'

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has launched an emergency campaign to demand that the Peruvian government release USLA Executive Secretary Mike Kelly. Kelly has been held in a Peruvian jail since January 10.

USLA held picket lines January 16 outside Peru's UN mission in New York and at the Peruvian Embassy in Washington, D.C. Protesters demanded the immediate release of Kelly and the dictatorship's other prisoners.

Efforts on Kelly's behalf are also being made by U.S. senators Edward Kennedy and Paul Tsongas, by U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums, and by Lawrence Birns, chairperson of the U.S. Council on Hemispheric Affairs.

Kelly was seized by State Security agents while taking pictures in downtown Lima on January 9. He was held until 1 a.m., released, and ordered to report back later in the day. When he did so, the cops took Kelly to the place where he had been staying and ransacked his room for four hours. They then took him back to jail.

As of January 16, Kelly was still in custody. There was no indication that he would be released soon, despite the fact that the cops at first told him he would be "invited" to leave Peru. The government would say nothing publicly about his case, although Kelly's attorney, Peruvian Amnesty International representative Laura Caller, was informed that a "secret investigation" was in progress concerning "political agitation."

Kelly has been traveling in Latin America for several months, vaca-



USLA Executive Secretary Mike Kelly (right) greets Hugo Blanco at beginning of Peruvian revolutionist's 1977 U.S. tour.

Militant/Susan Ellis

tioning and writing magazine articles.

As USLA executive secretary for the past three years, Kelly organized the group's efforts to ensure the safety of Hugo Blanco and twelve other political figures deported from Peru to Argentina in May 1978.

USLA urges that telegrams or

letters demanding immediate freedom for Mike Kelly, Alfonso Barrantes Lingán, and the other Peruvian political prisoners be sent to the Peruvian Embassy, 1700 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Send copies to USLA, 853 Broadway, suite 414, New York New York 10003. —F.M.

leaders would "have to pay."

Because Blanco is a member of the Constituent Assembly he supposedly enjoys "immunity" from arrest. Although he was not detained in the round-up of working-class leaders, the regime's threat is ominous, especially in light of the attempted kidnapping of Blanco last September in downtown Lima. That attack is now widely believed to have been the work of military intelligence agents.

During the weekend of January 13-14, many of those arrested in Lima were released. As of January 15, some forty-seven persons were known to still be held in the capital. Hundreds more might remain in detention elsewhere in the country, however.

Among those still jailed are Alfonso Barrantes Lingán, president of the leftist coalition Democratic People's

Unity (UDP); Miguel Villar and Víctor Anchayoa, both members of Hugo Blanco's party, the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party, a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party); and Hernández Zamora and Esquivel Escalante, trade-union activists from the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP). Villar and Escalante were wounded by police gunfire outside the Diamante shoe factory in Lima when they refused to enter the plant and return to work. They are being held under guard at a Lima hospital.

Two members of the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (POMR) are also among those still in jail. A POMR office in Lima was raided by police during the general strike, and much of the group's office equipment was confiscated.

Also arrested on January 9 and still

in custody as of January 15 is Mike Kelly, an American who is national executive secretary of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

While the failure of the general strike and the stepped-up repression mark a setback for the Peruvian workers, they have by no means been defeated. Their trade unions and political organizations remain intact, and they can be expected to renew their battle against the steep inflation and massive unemployment that the military's austerity program has produced.

At the moment, it is important to press for the release of the prisoners, the lifting of the "state of emergency," and the restoration of press freedom. International solidarity can play a big part in this effort—for information on how you can help, see the box on this page.

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For a constituent assembly!

Iran: revolution ends shah's

By David Frankel

Deserted by his imperialist supporters and despised by the Iranian people, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi fled into exile January 16. The tyrant ended his dark and bloody reign without even waiting for his rubber-stamp parliament to confirm his choice of Shahpur Bakhtiar as Iran's new prime minister.

As news of the shah's departure spread, *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas Gage reported, "hundreds of thousands of people poured out of their homes shouting 'Shah raft!—The Shah is gone!'"

"The streets, nearly empty during recent days of strikes and gasoline shortages, were quickly clogged with automobiles that added the sound of their horns to the din, as people embraced, wept and threw flowers at soldiers, who seemed to share their high spirits. The cacaphony of celebration continued all afternoon and well into the evening."

What a victory for the Iranian people!

Victory for all oppressed

With the flight of the shah, the Iranian masses have taken a giant step toward finally ridding themselves of the hated monarchy and ensuring the gains they have already made.

As a result of the revolution unfolding in Iran, the imperialist grip on the country has been greatly weakened. Washington has been forced to begin dismantling its top-secret equipment at bases along the Iranian-Soviet border, and the representatives of U.S. corporations that dominate Iran's economy have been sent streaming out of the country.

One new slogan that echoed through Tehran January 16 was: "The Shah is gone. The Americans are next!"

Meanwhile, the mobilization of the masses has won the release of hundreds of political prisoners, has put an end to newspaper censorship, and has placed the regime's torturers and hangmen on the defensive.

Nor is the shah's fall simply a victory for the Iranian people. Their gain is a victory for the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

The anti-imperialist sentiment of the Iranian people has forced Bakhtiar to promise that no more oil will be sold to Israel and South Africa.

The successes of the Iranian masses have inspired other peoples around the world struggling for their rights against seemingly impregnable regimes.

And the prospect of a continuing revolution in Iran has shaken pro-imperialist regimes in the Middle East and weakened Washington's position in the entire region.

Meanwhile, the Iranian masses are continuing to push forward, demanding all the democratic rights that have been denied them for so long, and insisting on the establishment of a society that will ensure justice for the oppressed and exploited.

Inspiration for masses

Although the end of the shah's rule has been the central demand of the Iranian revolution up to now, it is clear that the shah's flight will not put an end to the revolution. On the contrary, this victory will inspire the masses. It will raise their confidence in their own strength and embolden them in the fight for their demands.

By their determined struggle, the Iranian people have opened up new possibilities for their country. While they are trying to move forward, however, the imperialist powers who backed the shah and who are now backing his appointed prime minister are desperately seeking some way to



Demonstrator and soldier exchange friendly greeting in Tehran

stop this process, and if possible to reverse it.

Not even the members of his own government have much hope that Bakhtiar, any more than the shah who put him in office in the first place, will succeed in halting the mass movement.

What is involved is not any lack of desire on Bakhtiar's part. Asked January 6 if he thought that the shah would be able to retain his throne, Bakhtiar declared, "I hope and I think and I pray" that this would be the case.

Earlier, while announcing that the censorship lifted in the case of newspapers would remain in radio and television broadcasts, Bakhtiar insisted that "liberty is relative and gradual."

Oppressed nationalities within Iran who demand the right of self-determination were put on notice as to what they can expect from Bakhtiar when he told *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas Gage January 12 that "I am not going to accept disintegration of this country. I will be pitiless against everyone who threatens the unity and integrity of Iran."

Rumors of coup

Bakhtiar also vowed not to legalize the Communist Party.

But even worse than his promises were his actions. Demonstrators continue to be shot down each day under Bakhtiar's "liberal" regime.

"I spend most of the time trying to locate police and soldiers to send from one trouble spot to another," Bakhtiar complained to Gage. A few weeks earlier and it could have been the shah talking.

Despite Bakhtiar's pathetic eagerness to curry favor with the shah's officer caste, rumors of an impending military coup against his ineffectual government became so persistent that the State Department had to express public opposition to such a move.

To some extent, the rumors of a military coup have been encouraged by Bakhtiar as a threat against the Iranian people. The masses are being warned that the alternative to Bakhtiar is the army's tanks.

But eventually, it is almost certain that a section of the officer corps will try to halt the revolution by resorting to a coup. Bakhtiar's government is too weak and discredited to succeed in stopping the mass movement. At the

same time, the advance of the masses threatens the shah's generals with the prospect of being tried for their crimes. In the end, a cornered rat will always turn and fight.

As one member of Bakhtiar's cabinet put it in a discussion with *Times* reporter R.W. Apple, "Sometimes a coup, I guess, almost has to happen at some point."

Of course, it is another question altogether whether such a coup attempt would succeed.

This explains the State Department's hypocritical statements about Washington's "strong support for a civilian government operating within the constitutional framework" in Iran.

No such statements were forthcoming when the CIA helped organize the 1953 coup on behalf of the shah, nor on the eve of the 1973 military coup that ousted the Allende regime in Chile.

If "Human Rights" Carter thought there was a good chance to drown the Iranian revolution in blood, he would jump for joy. In this case, Carter has so far opposed a military coup because he is afraid the rightist forces would lose.

Army begins to crack

Washington Post correspondent Jim Hoagland admitted the basic problem facing Carter in a January 13 article.

"What the White House appears to fear most," Hoagland noted, "is not so much a military coup that would succeed and end the disruption of Iranian life and oil exports, but an attempted coup that would fail because troops would not carry out orders to repress demonstrations."

Eyewitnesses in Tehran reported that 600,000 people demonstrated to celebrate the reopening of Tehran University, which had been closed by the regime.

Huge protests continued on the following days, as the army stood by. A January 14 *New York Times* dispatch, reporting scenes that recalled the Portuguese revolution of 1974, said:

"The demonstrators were friendly toward the troops who patrolled the streets. Some kissed the soldiers, giving them flowers, and chanted, 'Greetings to our brother soldiers!'"

Reports of soldiers waving pictures of opposition leader Ayatollah Khomeini, of soldiers joining demonstra-

tions, and of soldiers accepting red carnations from demonstrators have become common.

"Inhabitants of the southern town of Masjid-e-Suleiman reported today that six army conscripts had been shot and killed today by other soldiers after the conscripts tried to join civilians in mounting a demonstration in favor of Ayatollah Khomeini," the *Times* dispatch reported.

Under these circumstances, Carter's reluctance to put the Iranian army to the test is understandable.

Another factor that convinced Washington to try to buy time is the difficulty it would face in trying to make any direct military intervention to tip the balance in the event of a civil war in Iran. The American people are in no mood for any new military adventures, especially on the borders of the Soviet Union.

The problems facing Carter in this regard were vividly illustrated when he had to be content with the feeble gesture of sending a squadron of unarmed F-15 jets to Saudi Arabia. It was a far cry from 1965, when Lyndon Johnson was able to send 24,000 U.S. Marines to invade the Dominican Republic, while more than 30,000 U.S. troops were already engaged in Vietnam.

Constituent assembly

While Bakhtiar's regime staggered on, naming a nine-member regency council to preserve the form of the monarchy, Khomeini announced the appointment of a "Council of the Islamic Revolution" January 13. Khomeini, who remains by far the best known and most widely followed opposition leader, declared that he would return to Iran from exile to "supervise and direct the government."

Following the shah's flight, which Khomeini called "the first step" toward ending the Pahlavi dynasty altogether, he urged that demonstrations and strikes against Bakhtiar continue.

In his statement, Khomeini promised that "I will introduce very soon a provisional government to set up a popularly elected constituent assembly for the ratification of a new constitution."

Immediate elections to a constituent

bloody reign

assembly—no matter what regime is in power—are necessary so that the Iranian people can freely discuss and decide the issues facing their country.

Such a constituent assembly must be able to debate and decide on all the issues facing Iran, not only on the proposals for a new constitution. Every party and every group in Iranian society must be free to participate in this national discussion and to vote for representatives of their choice.

This includes the high school youth who have played such a big role in the struggle against the shah. It includes women, those without any property, the millions who cannot read or write, and the oppressed nationalities. It includes all the political groups banned by the shah. And it includes the soldiers.

Committees to discuss the issues and to help organize the elections should be established in the barracks. After all, the rank-and-file soldiers, who may be ordered to shoot down their brothers and sisters demonstrating in the streets or else risk being shot down by their officers have a big stake in the course of events.

Delegates to the constituent assembly should be elected by proportional representation, so that every grouping that gets a certain minimum percentage of the vote nationally is guaranteed a voice in the debates of the assembly.

Nor should the debate be limited to the representatives in the constituent assembly. Continuing discussions on the great issues facing the Iranian people should be organized in the factories, the schools, the barracks, and the villages. Only in that way can the masses really take part, guarantee the gains that they have made so far, and continue to push forward the development of the revolution.

Program for revolution

Trotskyists in Iran have already distributed thousands of copies of their newspaper, *Socialism*, calling for elections to a constituent assembly. Socialists would call on such an assembly to implement a program that would include:

- Release of all political prisoners, complete abolition of censorship, legal-

ization of all political parties and groups, freedom of religion and the separation of church and state, and freedom of assembly.

- Complete abolition of the monarchy and confiscation of the wealth stolen by the shah, his family, and their hangers-on from the Iranian people.

- Nationalization of imperialist economic holdings. The natural wealth of Iran should go to the development of the country and the improvement of the lives of its people, not the enrichment of imperialist corporations.

- A thoroughgoing land reform under the control of the landless peasants and small landowners. Despite the shah's so-called land reform, one-third of Iran's peasants still have no land.

- Recognition of the right of self-determination for Iran's oppressed nationalities. Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Baluchis, and Arabs, among others, have a long history of struggle for their rights and have played an active part in the movement against the shah's dictatorship.

- Measures aimed at abolishing the oppression of women. Repeal all discriminatory laws and establish legal equality. This would include especially repeal of the law permitting male family members to punish women relatives who supposedly tarnish their "honor."

Also, equal pay for equal work and the establishment of child-care centers for those women who want them. Both these demands have been raised by women in the course of the struggle against the shah.

* * *

A great victory for freedom and social progress has been won in Iran. One of the world's most notorious dictators has been driven from power by an aroused people.

Having come this far in their struggle for human rights, the Iranian people are not about to stop their fight. They deserve the full support and solidarity of working people here in the United States.

Long live the struggle of the Iranian people!

Long live the Iranian revolution!



Political prisoner, released from jail, is carried in demonstration

U.N. Cambodia 'debate': forum for U.S. hypocrisy



U.S. planes dropped 442,735 tons of bombs on Cambodian countryside from 1970 to 1973. But that doesn't stop Andrew Young from lecturing Vietnam about intervention.

By Fred Feldman

Vietnamese troops and Cambodian insurgents have captured "all major Cambodian towns, including the principal western city of Battambang" according to a report attributed to "Western analysts" in the January 15 *New York Times*.

Although armed clashes continue in some areas, the January 16 *New York Times* reported, "The flood of Cambodian refugees once expected by the Thais has not materialized. . . ."

"Colonel Thanit . . . said he and other Thai officials believed that many Cambodian villagers viewed the Vietnamese-backed insurgents as liberators from the harsh regime of Mr. Pol Pot."

Heng Samrin, head of the new Cambodian government (called "People's Revolutionary Council") named a vice-president and six other council members on January 8.

Samrin is a leader of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation. Said to be forty-four, he was described in a December 5 broadcast by the front as a former commander of a battalion and later a regiment in the Cambodian Khmer Rouge forces. He is said to have fled to Vietnam in May 1978 after leading an abortive insurrection against the Pol Pot regime.

The U.S. rulers, it is clear, have concluded that nothing can be done to roll back the installation of the new regime in Cambodia. Statements by former Cambodian Vice-premier Ieng Sary on his arrival in Thailand that guerrilla warfare will continue, and similar assertions by Peking officials, are being discounted.

Henry Kamm wrote in the January 14, 1979, *New York Times*: "No doubt the most fanatical Khmer Rouge soldiers . . . are prepared to fight on. But the people whom the Vietnamese are installing in power are certified Cambodian nationalists with unimpeachable Khmer Rouge records. Mr. Pol Pot was not notably successful at fighting them when he ruled all Cambodia, with a seaport through which China could supply him."

In line with this assessment, U.S. representatives at the United Nations have treated the debate that began January 11 as an opportunity for anti-communist and anti-Vietnamese propaganda but have not associated themselves with proposals for military or other sanctions against Vietnam.

This has been left to the Chinese representatives and Prince Sihanouk, Cambodia's king when the country was ruled by France and later head of state when the country gained formal independence in 1955. He was the

choice of the collapsing Pol Pot regime to represent it abroad. The timing of the UN debate prevented any representative of the new Cambodian government from participating.

The strongest critic of the Pol Pot regime and of Sihanouk's call for UN intervention at the Security Council meeting was Cuban delegate Raúl Roa Kouri.

Roa pointed to Sihanouk's admissions that the Pol Pot regime was brutal and repressive. He denounced the former king for spending three years in Cambodia "listening to guitar music and crooners" rather than protesting the regime's policies. The *New York Times* described Roa as saying that "it would have been better . . . if the Prince had burned himself alive in the manner of protesting Buddhist monks."

On January 15, the USSR (supported by Czechoslovakia) vetoed a resolution backed by the United States and twelve other council members demanding the withdrawal of "all foreign forces" from Cambodia.

Andrew Young, the U.S. representative at the United Nations, has denounced the Vietnamese for allegedly violating Cambodian sovereignty and the UN Charter. This is another high point of U.S. government hypocrisy.

In April 1970, shortly after Lon Nol's CIA-backed coup against Prince Sihanouk's government, President Nixon ordered a U.S. invasion of Cambodia. American bombers went into action on Lon Nol's side, blasting the countryside long after American ground troops were withdrawn in June 1970.

Saturation bombing continued for three years. The country was hit with 442,735 tons of bombs—more than 100 pounds of explosives for every man, woman, and child in the country.

After taking Phnompenh in April 1975, the Khmer Rouge regime charged that 600,000 Cambodians had been killed during the five-year war and another 600,000 wounded—this out of a population of 7 million. Agricultural production had been completely disrupted, and famine was widely feared.

On top of this barbaric assault, Washington is now using the recent events in Cambodia as a new pretext to diplomatically isolate and economically blockade the Indochinese regimes.

The American people should reject this cynical doubletalk and demand that the Carter administration recognize the Vietnamese and Cambodian governments and provide massive aid for the reconstruction of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos—without conditions of any kind.

Ex-FBI agent blows lid off

Continued from page 1

Bell.

However, the evidence provided by Swearingen, and other facts being ferreted out by reporters, demolish Bell's position, legally and politically.

The facts that are emerging provide hard evidence of an ongoing conspiracy within the Carter administration to conceal the truth about the criminal activities of the FBI's hired stool pigeons in their war against socialist groups, against the labor movement, and against Black organizations.

'Pack of lies'

Several months ago, Swearingen provided the Justice Department with evidence that the testimony of top-ranking FBI official James Adams was false. Swearingen also stated that material compiled by FBI field offices on informers, which Adams relied on in his testimony, was "a gross pack of lies."

Swearingen told the Justice Department that the reason the FBI is afraid to turn over the informer files to the SWP has nothing to do with their stated reasons about protecting "law enforcement."

If the files are disclosed, asserts Swearingen, "the FBI's abuses of the past would bring the FBI to its knees. Informants could be prosecuted, FBI agents could be prosecuted, and the entire FBI would be disgraced."

Yesterday, the *New York Times* ran a front-page story on Swearingen's charges, under the headline, "Ex-agent Accuses F.B.I. Executive of Perjury in Suit Over Informants." Within hours, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa convened an emergency hearing in his courtroom on the matter.

Griesa demanded to know why the Justice Department had failed to inform him that the testimony of a key witness in the case had been called into serious question. Thomas Moseley, the government attorney, responded weakly that he thought the Swearingen "allegations are devoid of substance."

Under sharp questioning from Griesa, however, Moseley conceded that the Justice Department had been investigating the charges for two months. The inquiry will not be completed for another month, he said.

"The FBI is looking into it," said Moseley with a straight face.

Moseley also tried to discredit Swearingen's statements, calling him "a somewhat disgruntled" ex-agent who, the government contends, had stolen secret documents from the FBI office in Los Angeles when he retired in 1977. An internal Justice Department agency, the Office of Professional Responsibility, considered the Swearingen assertions substantial enough to forward them to the United States attorney in New York for further evaluation.

It would be up to the United States attorney in New York, Robert Fiske, to decide whether to seek a perjury indictment against Adams. Since Fiske is also defending the FBI, however, and since Adams is one of the major witnesses for the government, it is hardly likely that an objective decision will be reached.

'Pledge of confidentiality'

Nonetheless, Swearingen's charges totally destroy Adams's testimony and a key part of the government's case which rest on that testimony.

In his sworn statement, Adams had asserted that



NEWS ITEM: Justice Department to investigate FBI agents in news disclosures of burglaries.

turning over the informer files would violate a solemn "pledge of confidentiality" given to informers by the FBI and would make it nearly impossible to recruit informers in the future.

"In each and every case the confidential informant must be and is assured that his identity will not be revealed," Adams said.

In rebuttal, Swearingen, basing his statement on actual practice of FBI agents, says: "The 'pledge of confidentiality' is a term invented by the FBI and Mr. Adams following the lawsuit by the SWP. Agents as a matter of practice in the field did not make a pledge of confidentiality to informants. Occasionally agents did make such an inference in cases of organized crime or 'mafia' style crimes, where it was obvious that the informant was reporting on individuals who lived by a code of control by death."

In fact, says Swearingen, the FBI headquarters "in every instance continued to pressure the Field into persuading the informant to testify, if the FBI thought the particular crime deserved to be prosecuted. . . ."

"The 'FBI Manual of Instructions' did not contain

any statement whatsoever about a 'pledge of confidentiality' at the time of the sworn affidavit" by Adams.

In fact, according to Swearingen, the FBI Manual, Section 107, says, "Contacting agent must condition informant for the fact that he may at a future date be called upon to testify to information that he has furnished on security matters."

Adams had also sworn that the lives or safety of FBI finks would be endangered if the SWP found out their identities. Swearingen, who has long experience in spying on the SWP, says flatly, "Mr. Adams cannot cite one instance where the SWP physically assaulted anyone identified as an FBI informant. . . . There is no foundation for believing that the SWP would physically harm exposed informants. . . ."

'Abuses and corruption'

Swearingen also discredits Adams's testimony that FBI agents were seeing "sources" dry up because of fear of disclosure. The truth is, says Swearingen, based on firsthand knowledge, "Agents in Los Angeles were closing informant files hoping to bury the abuses and corruption they had perpetrated over the years. After the SWP suit began, agents were closing informant files by the hundreds in Los Angeles."

Today, government lawyers in New York handed over to the SWP the Swearingen charges that had been forwarded to them by the Justice Department in Washington. It is believed, however, that only some of the material Swearingen turned over was sent to New York. Additional material to corroborate his claim may be in the hands of the Justice Department in Washington. Included in this file may be documents directly from the FBI office in Los Angeles, which Swearingen reportedly took with him when he left the bureau.

Judge Griesa has directed the government to produce all the material they have received from Swearingen, including files still in Washington.

Griesa, however, reserved decision on a request by Leonard Boudin, chief counsel for the SWP, for an immediate hearing to put both Swearingen and Adams on the witness stand, along with other FBI agents from the Los Angeles field office.

'Lying to American people'

Griesa said that whether Adams had lied in court is "of grave concern to me." He pointed out that the FBI had earlier been caught in several lies. "I

Informer killed PLer in 1969

LOS ANGELES—An FBI informer planted in the Progressive Labor Party used a stolen gun to kill a party member who had discovered her identity.

This was disclosed in a Washington dispatch to the January 17 *Los Angeles Times*, which said the information was based on an FBI document which had come into its possession.

The shooting occurred in 1969. It was ruled "self-defense" by the Hermosa Beach Police Department. No charges were filed against the killer, who is identified in the FBI documents as Vincenna Lawlor.

The *Times* said the information was included in a secret report from the FBI's Los Angeles field office to the agency's headquarters in Washington as a contribution to the bureau's defense in the Socialist Workers Party damage suit. The document had been prepared in August 1976.

The version of the killing in the FBI report was designed to bolster the Justice Department's case in refusing comply with a federal court order that

it turn over the names of eighteen informers to the SWP.

The secret document claimed that the government agent had shot George Lancaster because, after discovering her identity, he and another PLP member had beaten and threatened to kill her.

The *Times* said that the report containing the FBI version of the killing was prepared in response to a directive to all FBI field offices to compile examples of intimidation and retaliation against exposed informers. This information was then used in an affidavit by James Adams, assistant FBI director, to bolster the agency's argument that disclosure of the eighteen informer files in the SWP case would endanger those identified.

The stolen gun, the FBI said, had been part of the loot in a \$15,000 burglary of a Palos Verdes home.

The *Times* said it was not known if the killing was dismissed as "self-defense" as a result of FBI intervention.

gov't lies in socialist suit

'Thousands of bag jobs'

In material turned over to the Justice Department, retired FBI agent M. Wesley Swearingen provides explosive new evidence of decades of criminal activity on a massive scale.

Swearingen was assigned to the FBI offices in Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, and other cities. He spied on the SWP, tried to track down fugitives of the Weather Underground, and carried out other assignments. He provides evidence based on his personal knowledge and experience.

"Almost all information on the SWP/YSA during the 1940's and 1950's came from illegal wiretaps, illegal microphone surveillances, physical surveillances, mail covers, trash covers, bag jobs of members' houses, bag jobs of SWP Headquarters, police department 'red squads' . . . and other government agencies.

"This knowledge is based upon my various assignments in Chicago from 1952 to 1963, which included some individual cases of the SWP/YSA. Paul Frankfurt supervised the SWP squad in Chicago in the early 1950's. Agents Daniel J. Hurley and Robert Glendon regularly pulled bag

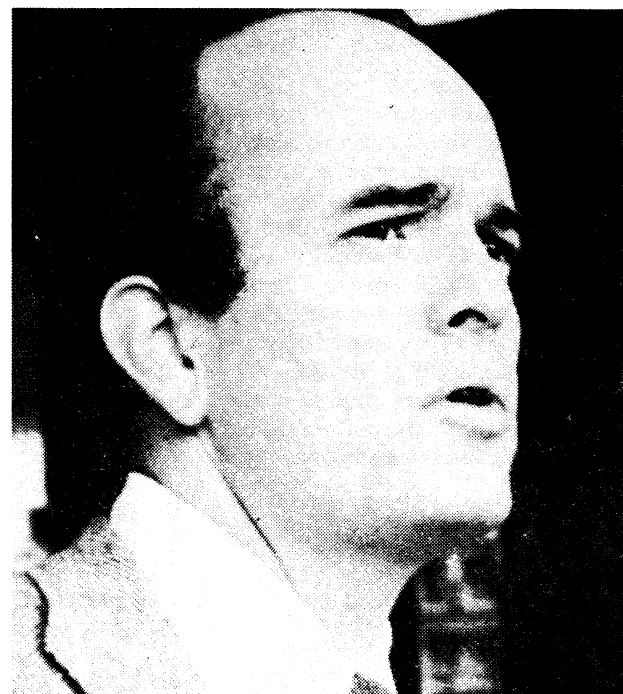
jobs on the SWP Headquarters.

"The illegal activities of the FBI which were conducted against the SWP/YSA, the CP [Communist Party] and other organizations were not limited to Chicago. The FBI conducted regular 'in-service' training schools in photography to be used in bag jobs or surreptitious entries, lock picking schools, electronics training known as 'sound school', techniques in surveillance, radio communications and what to do if caught in a bag job.

"The Chicago office conducted thousands of bag jobs. I have numerous letters of commendation from J. Edgar Hoover and one cash award in the amount of \$150 in recognition [of these break-ins].

"On 4/11/77, SAC [Special Agent-in-Charge] Elmer Linberg of the Los Angeles office advised me that the Los Angeles office had 35 agents assigned to conducting bag jobs in the 1950's. Other offices with bag jobs squads were Newark, San Francisco, Washington D.C. and the largest of all New York City."

—L.S.



BARNES: 'FBI has been lying to the American people.'

New York Times of January 6. That article stated that Swearingen was in possession of FBI documents that the government considers "highly sensitive."

Whatever Swearingen's motivations, he has lit the fuse of a bomb that may well explode the FBI's ongoing cover-up of the crimes of its secret agents and provocateurs.

thought this had stopped," said Griesa.

In a statement released to the press today, Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, said the Swearingen files "prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that the FBI has been lying in court.

"They have also been lying to the American people," said Barnes.

"The purpose of these fabrications is to conceal the truth about the FBI's illegal network of stool

pigeons and provocateurs. The attorney general has based his refusal to obey the court order on testimony that now stands exposed as fraudulent.

"The least Bell should do now is to immediately hand over the files—not to mention prosecuting Adams and every other FBI official who has lied in court."

The government can now be expected to use every means at its disposal to try to discredit Swearingen's assertions. However, it will be hard for them to go too far in smearing a twenty-five-year veteran of their own secret-police organization as a raving lunatic.

Moreover, they never know when another "whistle blower" from within the FBI will surface to confirm Swearingen's revelations.

"There are a lot of agents who would talk if they could because, like me, they want a real F.B.I. and not a paper tiger that puts itself above the law," Swearingen had previously told the *New York Times*.

To further his apparent aim of "cleaning up" the FBI so it can be more effective as a political police force, Swearingen has leaked a lot of information.

He provided an interview to *Seven Days* magazine, edited by Dave Dellinger. The interview was run anonymously. He gave an interview to the monthly magazine of the Church of Scientology, also anonymously.

Swearingen was first publicly identified in the



Adams (left) provided lies that Bell now repeats in defying court order to turn over informer files.

Political Rights Defense Fund



The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying and disruption has already exposed many FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising money for this historic lawsuit.

Will you help? Return this coupon with your contribution to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$_____

Name _____

Address _____

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Judge rejects motion to deny damages to SWP

By Roger Rudenstein

Attorney General Griffin Bell and the FBI have lost another round in federal court. U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa emphatically rejected a motion to throw out of court a key part of the Socialist Workers Party suit against FBI spying.

Griesa's decision was released at the end of December. He ruled that the government's argument that the socialists couldn't sue for damages for the illegal activities of FBI informers was hogwash.

The decision came down while a court of appeals is considering whether to uphold a contempt citation against Attorney General Griffin Bell. Bell has been charged with contempt for refusing to obey a court order requiring him to hand over files on eighteen FBI provocateurs.

A ruling from the appeals court on this question is expected soon.

The government had asked Griesa to dismiss that part of the SWP suit that seeks to collect monetary damages for illegal activity by FBI informers.

Griesa had already ruled against the arguments made by the government when he refused twice before to dismiss the entire suit. However, the government is trying desperately to

weaken the SWP's strong legal position in the fight for the highly secret informer files. If they could get the part of the lawsuit relating to informers dismissed, this would allow them to argue that the SWP doesn't have a compelling need to obtain the eighteen spy files.

That is why they filed yet another motion for dismissal, this time limited to the informer aspect of the case.

Griesa's sharply worded rebuff is a significant setback to this plan. Griesa said that the FBI's own documents demonstrate that it has been "the express purpose of the FBI to disrupt the SWP and YSA . . . and also to interfere with the activities of these organizations. . . .

"The documents indicate that, at the very least, the FBI officials and agents depended upon information supplied by informants for planning the disruptive activities and evaluating their results."

Government lawyers immediately said they would seek to appeal Griesa's ruling, throwing yet another obstruction into the path of the case. The government has already gone three times to the appeals court and once to the U.S. Supreme Court on the informer issue.

Margaret Winter, an attorney for the

SWP, said, "We have already won this issue several times on appeal. The government's only strategy is to keep trying to bankrupt us and exhaust our resources.

"There is not a shadow of an appealable issue here. The law clearly forbids a pretrial appeal.

"However," she added, "that's never stopped the government before."

One of the government's arguments is that any activities FBI agents and informers may carry out are protected from civil suits under the so-called discretionary function exemption. This slippery doctrine says that you can't sue for damages based on actions of government agents whose job includes a degree of discretion in how it is to be carried out—even if the government agents abuse that discretion!

However, Griesa noted, the activities the SWP is charging the FBI with are "outside the function of investigating crime and subversion."

The FBI, the judge explained, has no legal authority "to engage in a function such as the disruption program alleged in this case or the use of informants to further such a program." Therefore the "discretionary function exemption" simply doesn't apply.

"There is no authority granted to the

FBI to infiltrate organizations and gather information solely about political beliefs and lawful political and personal activities," Griesa concluded.

The government also invoked a recent court of appeals decision involving illegal mail opening by the CIA. In that case, as in the SWP case, the Carter administration argued that even if your rights under the U.S. Constitution are violated by the federal government, there is no way to collect money for it. The court upheld this absurd position, rendering the Bill of Rights literally worthless.

However, the court also ruled that if federal agents commit an act for which a suit can be filed under state law, the government is liable for damages—and awarded the victims of CIA mail opening \$1,000 each.

Griesa noted that the SWP and YSA suit raises perfectly valid claims under the law of New York State, where the suit was filed and where the national offices of the two organizations are. Specifically, Griesa pointed out, "the alleged use of informants to infiltrate private meetings, to overhear and report upon private discussions and conversations, and to read, copy and steal private documents" amounts to an illegal invasion of privacy under the laws of New York.

Since gov't denial of asylum

Efforts mount to halt Marroquin deportation

By Jane Roland

Faced with the possibility of Héctor Marroquín's deportation to Mexico, his supporters around the country have stepped up their efforts to win him political asylum in the United States.

From Blacks in Detroit, to electrical workers in Philadelphia; from feminists to Dallas, to human rights activists in Tucson, support has come for Marroquín's right to asylum.

The activities are part of a national emergency campaign aimed at staying the hand of the Immigration and Natu-

ralization Service, which turned down Marroquín's asylum petition December 21.

committee coordinator. "After the INS ruled against Marroquín, we sent a news release to all the media in the area. 'Black Perspectives in the News' interviewed Jim Garrison, a member of the committee, and ran the interview together with several minutes of taped remarks by Marroquín."

During the sermon, the priest urged everyone to check out the table at the back of the church, pick up literature, and donate money to the case. "Héctor Marroquín deserves asylum at least, if not more than, the shah's family," he said, urging people to write letters to INS Director Leonel Castillo demanding asylum for Marroquín.

"We stayed for both morning masses," said Fink. At the end of the day the church had contributed \$120—\$50 from contributions at the table and a \$70 contribution from a special fund. The supporters have since been invited to several other churches.

A January 18 picket line at the local INS office is also planned.

Congressman John Conyers has agreed to support the picket line. So has E. Faye Williams, Metro Detroit assistant director of the Michigan Education Association. Monsignor Clement Kern and Father Robert Power are also supporting the picket line.

In Philadelphia, several of Marroquín's supporters, members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2005, collected co-workers' signatures on petitions demanding asylum for Marroquín. Some of the workers bought copies of *My Story*, a pamphlet by Marroquín, and defense committee buttons. A few workers took petitions home to circulate among their friends.

The Dallas County chapter of the National Organization for Women endorsed Marroquín's appeal for asylum earlier this month and decided to write to Castillo.

The Dallas defense committee is planning a big fund-raising event for the end of February. "We hope to raise several hundred dollars for the emer-

gency campaign," explained Chris Horner, a member of the committee. "We already raised a lot of money at a big Christmas party and dinner."

Horner explained that several of Marroquín's supporters work at Dresser Industries and Austin Steel, both organized by the United Steelworkers. These plants give their employees turkeys and hams at Christmas, and the supporters donated them to the fund-raising effort.

In Tucson the defense committee is working with the Tucson Committee for Human Rights in Latin America.

They're planning an event in early February on political prisoners in Mexico. That event will focus on Marroquín's case as an example of repression in Mexico.

In Atlantic City, New Jersey, several supporters have gotten together to form a chapter of the defense committee. Terry Applegate, one of the organizers of the committee, explained that she had been inspired to do this by the emergency campaign kick-off rally in defense of Marroquín held at the Young Socialist convention in December.

Help save his life

The emergency campaign to stop the Immigration and Naturalization Service from deporting Héctor Marroquín is underway.

The INS ruled against granting asylum to Marroquín on December 21, 1978. In its decision, the INS wrote, "You have failed to establish that there is likelihood of your being persecuted in Mexico . . . your application for political asylum is therefore denied."

The INS made no attempt to rebut any of the extensive evidence presented by Marroquín's attorneys.

The next step to win asylum for Marroquín is a deportation hearing, which the INS has not yet scheduled. At the hearing, Marroquín will resubmit his request for asylum. His attorneys will call on witnesses who can establish without a doubt his complete innocence of all frame-up charges. Other witnesses will testify to the repressive nature of the Mexican government and the extreme dangers Marroquín would face if deported.

Defense committees around the country have begun meeting and making plans for the emergency

campaign. These plans include fund raising events and receptions, film showings, and talks about repression in Mexico. In Detroit supporters are organizing a picket line at the local INS office.

You can participate in this campaign:

Send letters and telegrams to Leonel Castillo, Director of Immigration, Washington, D.C. 20536. Protest the INS decision, and demand that Castillo grant asylum to Marroquín. Urge co-workers, union locals, and other organizations to send telegrams.

- Help raise funds. More than \$15,000 will be needed in the next several weeks to expand national publicity and pay travel for witnesses.

- Contact the local news media and explain the case. Urge trade-union newspapers, campus press, and organization newsletters to cover the story.

Please send contributions and copies of messages to Castillo to: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

HECTOR MARROQUIN

ralization Service, which turned down Marroquín's asylum petition December 21.

On Sunday, January 7, Detroit activists from the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee visited the Holy Family Catholic Church, which has a mostly Black congregation. The priest had invited the defense committee to set up a literature table at Sunday mass and explain the case.

"He heard about the case on a local Black news show on television," explained Susie Fink, the Detroit defense

Demand police files on murdered Utah socialist

By Clemens Bak

SALT LAKE CITY—Supporters of civil liberties here are demanding that the city commission release all police files on murdered socialist Tony Adams. They also demand that the commission conduct public hearings into the murder, the frame-up police entrapment of Adams prior to his murder, and indications of a police cover-up in the investigation of Adam's death.

The demands are included in a letter addressed to the Salt Lake City Commission. Plans to gather signers for the letter were discussed at a meeting here January 10.

Participants in the meeting included representatives of the Salt Lake NAACP; Women Aware; Young Socialist Alliance; Socialist Workers Party; and the Lesbian and Gay Student Union, University of Utah.

Adams was found murdered in his apartment on the weekend of November 3. He was well known in Salt Lake as a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, a Black rights activist, and an advocate of gay rights. He was a member of Amalgamated Transit Union Division 382 and the Salt Lake NAACP.

Only a few days before his murder, Adams had faced a trumped-up homosexual solicitation charge in a Salt Lake courtroom. The judge dropped the charges, which had resulted from an elaborate police entrapment scheme.

This cop harassment of a prominent



TONY ADAMS

political activist just days before his death sparked an outcry here for a full investigation into the circumstances

surrounding the murder.

Yet, as the letter to the city commission explains, "Although it has been

over two months since his death, there are apparently no suspects, and friends and associates of Tony Adams have received many contradictory and confusing reports from the police. Even his family has not been informed of developments in the case."

The letter points out that "the police continue to deny the possibility of a political motive in Adams's death, suggesting that robbery (nothing was taken from the apartment) or Adams's homosexuality was somehow responsible for the murder."

The letter says that the refusal of the cops to seriously investigate the murder may reflect "police hostility to Adams, his party, or the cause he stood for."

Among the more than fifteen initial signers of the letter are: Rev. Robert Waldrop of the Metropolitan Community Church; Wyllis Dorman-Ligh, a former state legislator; Allen Blach, chairperson of the Lesbian and Gay Student Union at the University of Utah; and Nancy Elbert, a leader of Salt Lake City Amnesty International; James Dooley, president Salt Lake NAACP.

Also: Susan Keene, member of the Salt Lake City School Board; Frank Cordova, chairperson of the Chicano Student Association at the University of Utah; David Appleby, Utah Committee for University Divestment; and Sandra Craghead, membership chairperson, Salt Lake City National Organization for Women.

Doctors protest cuts

Koch puts the ax to New York services

By Nancy Cole

New York Mayor Edward Koch announced his latest budget-slashing scheme January 15. In "Level I," the Democratic city administration plans to cut \$140.7 million by axing 6,033 jobs and cutting back on social services.

Hardest hit will be the Board of Education with a cut of \$83 million and 3,597 employees. The sanitation department will lose 400 jobs, and students in the city university system will pay \$100 more tuition. The Commission on the Status of Women will be gutted with a reduction of staff from eight to one.

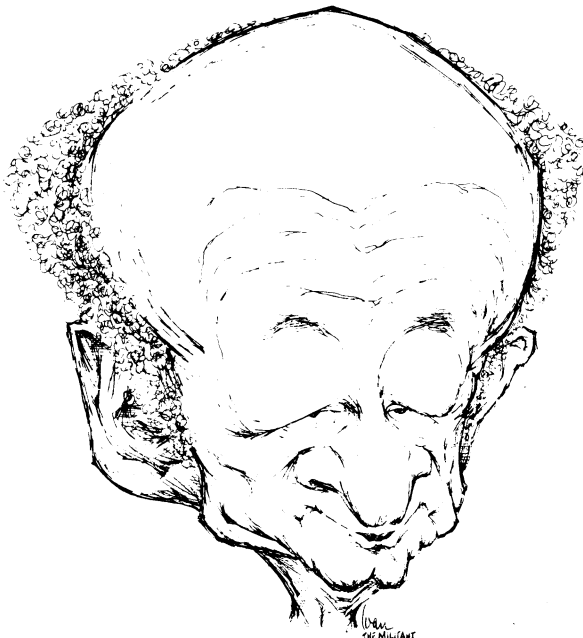
In "Level II," which Koch promises "is not a rose garden," the city would wipe out 2,842 more jobs, close down the city Human Rights Commission, eliminate twenty-five mental health projects, and hack \$16 million more from the Board of Education's budget.

Asked whether there are plans for a "Level III," Koch replied, "Yes, it's called Armageddon."

The announcement did not include information on the plan to drastically cut back the seventeen-municipal-hospital system—a move many Black leaders in the city are warning *would* provoke a near Armageddon.

Details on the hospital cutbacks will come later, and according to the *Daily News*, will begin to be implemented even before the next fiscal year starts in July. The budget report did mention that 2,000 hospital jobs would be cut this year.

The Level I-Level II ruse is designed to cushion the sledgehammer. The second stage of cuts will only be necessary, Koch maintains, if the state and federal government fail to come through with their share.



KOCH: Promises 'no rose garden'

But the White House, as well as the city's budget-cutting overseers on the Financial Control Board, have already said that the city should be making *more* cuts now.

The secret White House memorandum on New York, the text of which the *New York Post* published January 9, criticized Koch for not having made the drastic cuts necessary to capitalize on his new-in-office popularity.

The memo declared that the budget for fiscal year

1981 would have to shrink the city's work force by 44,000 or 22 percent.

"They [Koch administration] will ask you to redeem the Administration's 'commitment' to increase fiscal aid, through welfare reform and a variety of other actions," the memo warned White House aides. But no such commitment is to be made, the directive concluded, except "in general terms your commitment to do your part through programs such as welfare reform."

The most forthright stand taken by any group of city employees thus far has been by the Committee of Interns and Residents, the bargaining unit for some 2,000 doctors. They are demanding that no cuts in the municipal hospitals be made and that instead health care in the city be improved.

Plans for a one-day job action on January 17 brought down the wrath of city administrators. The move was "absolutely outrageous," declared Koch, and the doctors were threatened with every penalty the antiunion Taylor Law provides, including firings, fines, and jail. The city also went to court and won a temporary injunction barring the strike.

Nevertheless, on January 16, 100 delegates of the committee voted unanimously to continue with the action, conceding only that they might call it a political demonstration rather than a strike. From the beginning, the committee planned no disruption of emergency care.

Unions representing nurses and other hospital employees pledged support to the doctors although they remained on the job.

City officials who are conspiring to close down half the city's municipal hospitals have ironically charged the interns and residents with "patient abandonment."

Behind proposed gutting of N.Y. hospital system

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—At the top of Mayor Edward Koch's proposed cutback list is from \$40 million to \$88 million less for municipal hospitals during the next fiscal year.

The mayor's top "health adviser," Dr. Martin Cherkasky, is aiming for a municipal hospital system that by 1982 would be one-half its present size.

Not since the 1976 cutbacks that ended free tuition in the city university system has there been such a drastic proposed cut in a vital social service.

The seventeen-hospital system, like free tuition, is no longer acceptable to the banker-controlled politicians, who are trying to convince working people that they have no right to, and should no longer expect, needed social services.

Eighty-five percent of the hospitals in the city are either private or so-called nonprofit voluntary hospitals. Unlike the municipal facilities, the private and voluntary hospitals have no legal obligation to care for the working poor of New York—those who cannot qualify for Medicaid and yet cannot afford private medical insurance.

Koch claims he will demand that the state enforce similar cuts in the voluntary hospitals, over which Albany has jurisdiction.

But what the capitalist politicians really have in mind is shown by the example of West Harlem's Arthur C. Logan Memorial Hospital. Logan is the only Black-operated voluntary hospital in the city. State health authorities are planning to close the hospital immediately because it is in debt.

Hospital spokespeople say that a major cause of the facility's problems is that about 20 percent of its patients aren't eligible for Medicaid but can't pay for insurance.

Logan's proposed fate dispels any hope that voluntary hospitals will treat those patients who in the past would have gone to the municipal hospitals. Those hospitals that do will simply be closed.

One of the chief justifications the Koch administration uses for the cuts is that there are 5,000 "unused" hospital beds in the city.

But statistics don't back up this claim. Four of the five boroughs of New York are already below the national average of 4.9 beds per 1,000 population.

Municipal hospitals deliver a major portion of vital medical services to New York. While they represent only 15 percent of the city's hospitals, they deliver 43 percent of its emergency-room care, 56 percent of outpatient service, and 29 percent of inpatient care. They have only 18 percent of the city's hospital beds.

The Committee of Interns and Residents points out that the \$1.2 billion budget figure used by Mayor Koch for the municipal hospital system is grossly misleading. More than 70 percent of this budget is paid through sources such as Blue Shield/Blue Cross, Government Health Insurance, and federal and state funding. The city only pays out about \$300 million to maintain the seventeen hospitals.

And, as far as economy goes, the voluntary hospitals, which specialize in higher salaries for administrators and executives, are reimbursed at twice the rate as municipal hospitals for many Medicaid costs.

But perhaps the most revealing item in Mayor Koch's "money saving" scheme is the plan to *give away* the recently completed \$150 million North Central Bronx Hospital. The recipient of this generosity is none other than Montefiore Hospital, a voluntary facility in the Bronx that Koch's health adviser, Dr. Cherkasky, just happens to head.

The city administration has "undertaken a deliberate and systematic policy to destroy the municipal hospital system, a system which provides essential medical services and employment primarily to Blacks and Hispanics," charges David Bryan, executive secretary of the NAACP Metropolitan Council.



Committee of Interns and Residents demonstrated at city hall last month against municipal hospital cuts.

The NAACP estimates that 68 percent of the municipal hospital workers and two-thirds to three-fourths of the patients are Black or Hispanic.

Koch tries to hide his racist actions behind a curtain of "fiscal responsibility."

"When you reduce expenses, it impacts upon poor people because our budget is primarily devoted to poor people," he lamely offered.

But the *New York Post* has felt no compunction whatsoever in disclosing the racist mentality behind the cuts. Giving its support to any hospital cuts Koch may have in mind, a December 27 editorial blamed the municipal system for "meeting the costs of thousands of welfare recipients and transient illegal aliens unable to pay for their treatment."

Reluctantly agreeing to maintaining seven of the seventeen hospitals, the *Post* proposed that the rest "be given away or sold and in their place, we should experiment with health centers—the most efficient way of dealing with a population that keeps inflicting wounds upon each other that require immediate care but not protracted hospital treatment."

And finally, for those hospital workers facing the ax, the *Post* suggested that "the city's hospitals should not be an extension of the welfare system, paying substantially above the welfare rate for thousands of Puerto Ricans who have made this their special preserve."

On January 3, 300 pickets marched in front of the *Post* offices to demand that the paper retract the racist editorial.

The city council has warned that the hospital cuts may create a "political earthquake." The NAACP says they could "lead to racial confrontation and disorder." And Lillian Roberts—an associate director of District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—has warned that "blood [will] flow in the streets" if the cuts are carried through.

Koch claims that this "unwarranted use of rhetoric" is responsible for the growing "polarization" in the city. But it is his Democratic administration's attacks on the Black and *latino* communities that have confirmed what he calls his "antipoor" image. The threatened hospital cuts are only the latest example.

Court sabotages school desegregation

Cleve. socialist denounces busing delay

By Rick Congress
and Pat Wright

CLEVELAND—Socialist mayoral candidate Thabo Ntweng has denounced a federal court decision to postpone a school desegregation plan scheduled to begin here next month.

"This ruling is an attempt to sabotage equal education for Cleveland Blacks," said the Socialist Workers Party candidate, who is a member of United Auto Workers Local 217.

"Desegregation of Cleveland schools was ordered in 1976 and has already been stalled three times," Ntweng pointed out.

"The SWP demands that the board of education get the buses rolling as scheduled on February 27. No maneuvers in the courts should stand in the way of basic human rights."

Ntweng explained that this latest attack dovetails with efforts by Democratic Mayor Dennis Kucinich to make Cleveland working people pay for the city's default crisis through increased taxes and cuts in social services.

The January 8 decision was granted by the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in response to a request by Cleveland school officials. It will halt plans to desegregate 20,000 junior high school pupils next month. It also throws into doubt the plans to desegregate the remaining 100,000 public school students in September.

The three-judge panel issued the decision following a U.S. Supreme Court decision to review the Dayton and Columbus, Ohio, desegregation cases. The outcome of that review will also directly affect cases now pending in Cincinnati, Youngstown, and Akron. In all, desegregation plans involving some 350,000 Ohio public school students are thrown into limbo.



Militant/Dick Roberts
NTWENG: 'Get those buses rolling.'

Dayton is the only city in the state where a busing plan is already under way. Since 1976, 13,000 of the district's 37,000 students have been bused.

Racist opponents of busing in Dayton and Columbus are demanding that the Supreme Court bar district-wide busing. They claim that such a plan is illegal unless "willful" segregation by school officials can be proven.

The racists insist that the mere existence of segregation does not prove ill "intent" by the school system. This "natural" segregation, they claim,

simply results from housing patterns and "human nature"—not deliberate discrimination.

Recent Supreme Court decisions have lent credence to these reactionary excuses.

In an interview in the January 14 Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, NAACP attorney Thomas Atkins pledged that the group would continue its desegregation suits throughout Ohio "because we think the effect of our stopping would be genocidal for minorities in this country."

Socialist Ntweng also pointed to the national implications of the court action. "What happens here in Ohio will affect Blacks and other working people across the country, just like the recent *Bakke* decision against affirmative action."

Ntweng explained that the Cleveland School Board has cut back funding for schools on the predominantly Black East Side. "Students attend classes in buildings with no heat, no textbooks, not even toilet paper," he said. "They often don't have a full-time teacher."

On the other hand, Ntweng points out, the poor-mouthing school board has spent millions in the courts to fight desegregation.

Ntweng said that school desegregation in Cleveland has been blocked for fifteen years by Democratic and Republican party politicians on both a national and local level.

"Masquerading as the peoples' mayor," Ntweng said, "Mayor Kucinich's sole contribution leading up to the February 27 target date for busing was to announce that due to pending police layoffs, the city could not provide protection to Black children if they were attacked by racist mobs."

"Kucinich has said publicly that he

opposes what he calls 'forced busing.' Now he openly declares that he won't enforce it."

Ntweng also denounced the role of Black City Council President George Forbes. Forbes and other Black Democrats organized a demonstration of 2,000 people on twenty-four hours' notice last year when they were indicted in a local kickbacks scandal. "But they were nowhere to be found to mount a defense of Black schoolchildren," said Ntweng.

The Democratic and Republican parties play this role, Ntweng explained, because they are "the guardians of the rich, the twin parties of racism."

This is shown not only by their opposition to desegregation, he said, but by their attempt to make Cleveland working people finance the city's budget default through a payroll tax-hike proposal on the ballot next month.

"They want us to pay higher taxes, while they slash social services to the bone," Ntweng said. "And while the gigantic profits of the banks and corporations remain untouched."

Ntweng pointed out that the Cleveland Federation of Labor and Cleveland Federation of Teachers have both stated their support for busing to achieve school desegregation.

"The Cleveland labor movement should call a conference of the unions and Black community groups to discuss and decide on proposals to fight the attacks by the Democrats and Republicans on our schools, social services, and living standards," Ntweng said.

"Such a conference could mount a drive to vote 'no' on the tax hike. And it could launch a campaign to end the stalling on school desegregation once and for all."

Women win abortion rights victories

By Matilde Zimmermann

On January 10 a New Jersey Superior Court judge struck down a 1975 state law that allowed Medicaid abortions only when a woman's life was in danger. Judge David Furman ruled that the "medically necessary" clause in the federal abortion law meant that as long as there were health factors involved, abortion had to be treated like any other medical procedure covered by Medicaid.

One day earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated a section of Pennsylvania's anti-abortion law that required doctors to try to preserve the life of the fetus and choose the abortion technique most likely to lead to live delivery if there was "sufficient reason to believe that the fetus may be viable."

The challenge to the New Jersey law was brought by the state Right to Choose Committee, Welfare Rights Organization, and Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, on behalf of several welfare recipients who had been denied abortions because they could not pay for them. Joining the state in defense of the restrictive law were a number of anti-abortion groups including the New Jersey Right to Life Organization.

The judge found that the impact of New Jersey's refusal to pay for most abortions had been "drastic statistically." Before the ban, about 900 abortions a month were paid for by Medicaid in New Jersey. Afterwards the number dropped to between 12 and 25.

According to the Newark *Star Ledger*, Judge Furman is "the first state judge in the nation to order a state to pay for most abortions." About thirty states have anti-abortion laws similar to the one just struck down in New Jersey.

The Furman ruling removes major

restrictions on abortion, although it does not do so on the basis of a woman's right to choose. It requires Medicaid to pay for an eligible woman's abortion whenever her doctor, taking into account physical, emotional and age factors, judges the procedure necessary for her well-being.

Pennsylvania passed a law in 1974 that restricted the right to abortion in a variety of ways. Some aspects of the law, such as those requiring consent of the husband or parents, had already been declared unconstitutional before the most recent ruling.

In its six-to-three decision January 9, the Supreme Court ruled that Pennsylvania's law was unconstitutionally vague in that there was no generally accepted way of determining when a fetus "might be viable."

The Court also noted the conflict implicit in Pennsylvania's requirement. A physician—having determined by means unknown that a fetus "might be viable"—is to choose a procedure on the basis of the possibility it affords of the fetus surviving.

Doctors testifying against the law pointed out that the preferred method for second-trimester abortions involves the use of a saline solution generally fatal to the fetus. If physicians perform caesareans instead, out of fear they will be prosecuted on the basis that a fetus is "viable," they are only putting their patients through unnecessarily serious and dangerous operations.

Opponents of abortion raise a great hue and cry about the emotional questions of fetal "viability" and late abortion. They want to recreate an atmosphere in which people are uncomfortable with the issue of abortion and less than enthusiastic about defending a woman's right to choose.

But the restrictions on abortion rights—and in particular the bans on Medicaid funding—are what force many women to have late abortions. A woman on welfare may spend weeks or even months saving money, arranging a loan, or searching for a doctor she can afford. The delay means she faces greater expense and, a more complicated procedure, and perhaps even a law such as Pennsylvania's that puts the "interests" of the fetus above her own.

Some women are deterred because

they think abortion has once again become illegal—which is exactly what the anti-abortionists want them to think.

The New Jersey and Pennsylvania abortion victories represent a break in a long run of setbacks. As women celebrate the sixth anniversary of the legalization of abortion, these two rulings are a sign that it is possible to fight back against the attacks on abortion rights, and that women will not easily be driven back to the situation that existed before 1973.



Militant/Mike Skinner

Cleveland default

'Tax corporations, not working people'



Ford Motor's gigantic Brook Park plant in Cleveland

Militant/Dick Roberts

By Dick Roberts

CLEVELAND—In mid-December this city defaulted on \$15.5 million worth of bank loans. Democratic Mayor Dennis Kucinich threatened to fire up to 3,500 city workers to enable the city hall to raise these funds.

Kucinich backed off from firing that many workers—35 percent of the city work force—pending the outcome of a referendum scheduled for February 27. Cleveland's residents will then be asked to vote to raise city taxes from 1 to 1.5 percent.

If the 50 percent tax increase is accepted, Kucinich promises that mass layoffs won't be needed, although smaller layoffs are already under way. The tax increase would cost about \$38 million.

The Cleveland Socialist Workers Party immediately launched its mayoral campaign to oppose Kucinich's tax referendum. SWP candidate Thabo Ntweng is urging Cleveland's powerful labor movement to call a conference of unions and community groups to fight for a massive vote against the tax increase February 27 and to hammer out a political program to meet the needs of Cleveland working people.

There are tens of thousands of auto and steelworkers in the Cleveland area. The United Auto Workers and United Steelworkers could lead an unstoppable drive to expose Kucinich's tax-increase scheme.

The truth is the corporations operat-

ing in Cleveland could pay the city's taxes many times over. They get all their wealth from exploiting workers—billions of dollars accumulated over the years. Workers should not have to pay any taxes.

Republic Steel

A good illustration of the realities of corporate wealth took place here in the midst of the December financial crisis. It concerns Republic Steel, one of the nation's largest steel manufacturers, which is headquartered in Cleveland.

For most of last year Republic had been demanding that the city build an iron ore dock in Cleveland at next to no cost for Republic. Taconite mined on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota is shipped down through the Great Lakes to feed Republic, U.S. Steel, Jones and Laughlin, and the other steel producers in this area.

Republic demanded the dock, threatening to close down plants and leave the Cleveland area if it didn't get this assist from the city. Kucinich opposed the dock.

Then all of a sudden—a week after Kucinich threatened to fire 3,500 workers because the city needed to find \$15.5 million to pay the banks—Republic announced it would build the iron ore dock in neighboring Lorain. And it would spend \$200 million on plant improvement and expansion in the Cleveland area.

That \$200 million is more than twelve times the \$15.5 million Kucinich

defaulted on. It's not surprising. Republic is the eighty-fourth largest U.S. industrial corporation (with some mines in Canada).

In 1977 Republic sold \$2.9 billion worth of steel products. It means that steelworkers at Republic turn out the equivalent of Cleveland's default *every two days*.

Tax abatements

Tax abatements offer a comparable example. Across the country corporations have demanded tax breaks on city real estate. They threaten to leave the cities if they don't get these handouts.

In Cleveland the Standard Oil Company of Ohio (SOHIO) and the National City Bank received tax abatements of \$35 million because they are building new skyscraper headquarters in downtown. This is money that will be subtracted from their city taxes over a period of years.

Yet \$35 million is almost as much as the \$38 million that Cleveland's residents are being asked to ante up in the tax-increase referendum. Do these companies need such a tax break? In 1977 SOHIO's assets were \$7.8 billion, more than 200 times as much as the impending tax increase.

City financing

The idea is drummed into our heads that city governments have lots of money compared to the corporations

that operate in them. The exact opposite is true.

We can be misled by the granite and marble edifices, the city halls, court houses, and auditoriums in the center of town. Those were built by the capitalists in honor of themselves. That is why their names are engraved on the marble.

When it comes to actually financing city governments, the rulers of this country give only a pittance. And the whole essence of the city crises sweeping this country is that the capitalists want to give less and make us pay more.

In Cleveland last year residents actually *paid more* in city taxes than the fabulously wealthy corporations that operate here. The corporate tax bill for Cleveland in 1977 was \$57 million. The resident tax bill was \$62 million, and they are trying to increase resident income tax by half.

Socialists believe that this whole tax ripoff should be ended. Corporations should pay the taxes. They have enormous wealth, all of which was created by the labor of working people.

In order to focus attention on this issue, the number one demand of a conference of working people would be to *open the books*. By bringing out the truth about corporate profits compared to the meager wage of workers, the labor movement would dramatically show that the problems of cities can be solved. *The money is there.*

Ford's wealth and the Pentagon's ripoff

By Dick Roberts

CLEVELAND—The largest employer in this area is Ford Motor. Ford's Brook Park plant is its second largest in the world, employing about 14,000 workers. The three assembly lines there turn out six- and eight-cylinder engines.

An assembler at Engine Plant Number One showed me the stub of her paycheck. She has been working at Brook Park less than a year, so her wages are a little below the average.

Here's what her paycheck showed:

- Gross pay for forty hours: \$333.40.
- Tax deductions: \$127.50.
- Take-home pay: \$205.67.

Of the \$127.50 that is taken right off the top of her pay check:

- \$89.81 goes to the federal government.
- \$3.33 goes to Cleveland taxes.

In the midst of the city's municipal crisis, no one is saying a word about the *gigantic sum of money Cleveland working people pay to the federal government*.

The largest item by far in the federal budget is its wasteful and oppressive military expenditures. These constitute about 35 percent of federal expenditures.

Workers should not have to pay one



Workers leave Brook Park

Militant/Dick Roberts

cent to the Pentagon! The U.S. military budget should be slashed to zero. *This would release plentiful funds to expand needed city services many times over.*

Ford is the third-largest industrial corporation in the United States, with plants in many countries and sales all over the capitalist world.

- Ford's sales in 1977 were \$37.8 billion.
- This is 318 times as much as the entire Cleveland tax receipts for the same year.

How much wealth is created by the workers at Brook Park? Such details are concealed by corporations, which only reveal figures for their entire operations, not broken down city by city or even country by country.

An educated guess: Ford's payroll in Cleveland of \$456 million is roughly 5 percent of its total world payroll. There is a close correlation between wages and the value of production. If Ford workers in Cleveland produced 5 percent of the annual value of Ford's sales:

- The workers at Brook Park and at Ford's smaller Cleveland Walton Hills stamping plant turned out \$1.89 billion worth of goods in 1977.

This gigantic sum—entirely owned by the Ford corporation—is 126 times the \$15.5 million now needed to bail Cleveland out of default.

Corporations such as Ford, just from their output in the Cleveland area, could and should pay all federal, state, and city taxes. Workers have already paid in the wealth they create for corporations.

What about the owners of Ford? A 1978 congressional study showed that the Ford family controls 40.28 percent of the shares of Ford Motor.

- The Ford family controls more than 55 million shares of Ford stock.
- This is worth over \$2.4 billion right now.

- Income from these Ford holdings in 1979 will be \$198 million.
- A worker such as the person I mentioned earlier would have to work 11,314 years to make the amount the Fords take in in one year.

- The Ford family's income from Ford is roughly twice Cleveland's annual budget. They could finance two Clevelands. "Out of pocket money," as one Ford worker said.

New openings for rights fight

Socialists urge campaign against Weber

By Gene Anderson

The Socialist Workers Party is launching a campaign to win support for the fight against Brian Weber's challenge to affirmative action on the job.

Weber, a white lab technician for Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, is suing to overturn affirmative-action provisions of a contract negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America. Last month the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the case.

The *Militant* talked to John Hawkins and Wendy Lyons from the SWP national office about the party's plans around the case.

"We think there are new opportunities to expose the threat Weber poses to the rights of all working people, and new opportunities to rally support for the union's pro-affirmative-action position," Lyons said.

"The *Militant* has been working to publicize this important case for some time. It was actually the first national paper to sound the alarm and discuss the implications of the case, as well as the first to publicize the real record of anti-Black and anti-woman discrimination by Kaiser Aluminum.

"Now that the Supreme Court has agreed to hear it, Weber is becoming a household word—like *Bakke* was." Allan Bakke won a suit last June overturning affirmative action in medical school admissions. Like Weber, he charged "reverse discrimination" against white males.

"There is more awareness of the need to fight against this than there was at the time of the *Bakke* case," Hawkins said.

"For one thing it's a question of jobs. Blacks and women's organizations and many in the union movement are beginning to see that the clock will be

turned back on Black and women's rights and that all the gains we fought for and won are in jeopardy.

"The rights of the whole union movement are at stake here, too. Weber challenges the right of the union to negotiate a contract that provides fair treatment for its Black and female members—a life-and-death question for the American labor movement. An important sign that this is being recognized is the AFL-CIO's announcement that it will file a brief opposing Weber.

"There was some confusion over what the *Bakke* decision meant at first," Hawkins continued. "For example, the NAACP originally said that the decision upheld affirmative action in principle. But recently NAACP head Benjamin Hooks exposed how various schools have uprooted affirmative-action programs since the Supreme Court ruled in favor of *Bakke*. He told a press conference that the case has had a 'far more chilling impact than we thought it would have.'"

The NAACP also plans to file a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the steel union's plan at Kaiser.

"The women's movement is angry about the Weber challenge too," Lyons said. "The National Organization for Women passed a strong resolution against Weber at its national conference in October, and NOW chapters are organizing discussions and forums around the issue in various cities.

"What's more, the Weber case takes place in a new political context. Many in the union movement, women's movement, and Black movement now realize that there is a pattern of attacks on our rights and living standards by the bosses and government—and that we've got to stand up to it.

"There is a growing feeling that we have to support each other, that we

have to unite to effectively fight back."

"You see this in all kinds of ways," Hawkins said, "Everyone got behind the miners last winter when they stood up against the coal bosses and Carter. And when NOW called the massive march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment last July, the unions and Black organizations supported it. The Weber case needs to become that kind of fighting cause."

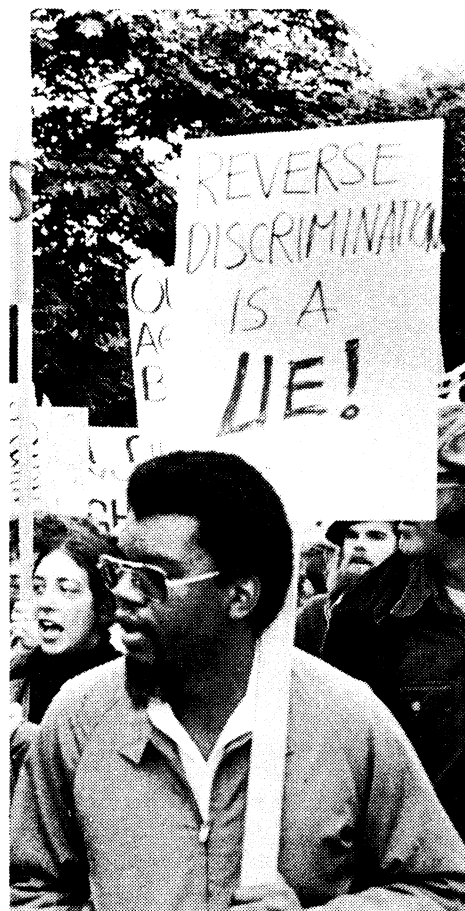
"Socialists are in a good position to help that happen," Lyons said, "through the unions we belong to and the women's and Black organizations we participate in. We can discuss and win people to support of affirmative action and the need to fight against the threat of a Weber victory.

"We should talk to our co-workers about their stake in this case. Pathfinder Press is publishing a new pamphlet explaining the importance of the suit. It's by *Militant* staff writer Andy Rose, who has written extensively on the subject and gotten firsthand reports from the steelworkers at Kaiser on why they need an affirmative-action program.

"We expect a lot of interest in this pamphlet, which will be off the press in a few weeks. In addition, the *Militant* is one of the best ways to get out information and analysis about the case."

"Socialists across the country will discuss the possibility of urging their unions and the women's, Black, and other organizations they participate in to pass resolutions in support of the steel union's affirmative-action plan," Hawkins said.

"Union locals, NOW chapters, campus organizations, Black and *latino* groups may want to organize forums or even debates around this issue. In some cities a whole range of organiza-



Militant/Wayne Glover

'There is growing feeling that we have to unite to effectively fight back'

tions may be interested in cosponsoring a forum or speakout on the need to defend affirmative action."

"The possibilities will vary from place to place," Lyons said, "but we can be sure that SWP members in branches across the country will be discussing how to take advantage of the new opportunities to step up the fight against Weber."

Oil union bargainers agree to Carter plan

By Debby Leonard

HOUSTON—On January 11, A.F. Grospiron, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, announced acceptance of a contract offer from Gulf Oil that would avert a nationwide strike and fall within President Carter's wage guidelines.

Some 400 contracts covering 60,000 oil workers expired January 7, but the union negotiating team agreed to extend the deadline. The settlement reached with Gulf, which is expected to set the pattern for the other 100 companies, provides for a seventy-three-cent-an-hour across the board wage increase retroactive to January 8. It also increases company contributions to medical coverage up to \$4.50 a month for individuals and \$12 for families.

The wage increase averages out to about 8 percent this year for most oil workers, but in deference to Carter's 7 percent guideline, only 5 percent for

next year.

There is a 1980 reopener clause on wages, health benefits, and vacations. However, the contract also stipulates that any agreement reached in the reopened talks must also meet any federal guidelines then in effect.

Offers earlier rejected by union negotiators included provisions to freeze the wages of workers in lower-paid classifications in order to raise the wages of other union members. Although this divisive clause is reportedly not included in the Gulf agreement, it is now being resubmitted by some of the other companies.

The OCAW contract was the first major nationwide agreement to expire since the announcement of Carter's guidelines (see box). With this in mind, the White House clearly flexed its muscles in the talks on behalf of the oil industry.

Gleeful over Carter's role, Gulf Vice-president William Breaux, the company's chief negotiator, commented, "If the government behaves with other unions and industries as it did with us, I'd say it's going to be successful."

Implicitly acknowledging that the agreement falls far short of oil workers' needs, OCAW's Grospiron said, "Now it's up to the Teamsters and auto workers."

The proposed Gulf settlement flies in the face not only of Grospiron's statement last month that Carter's program was "unfair to workers," but also of the nationally adopted Oil Bargaining Policy, which most union members already considered minimal in its demands.

That national union policy called for a "substantial" wage increase, fully paid medical benefits (including prescriptions and a dental plan), and more vacation time.

But is it a pattern-setter?

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union didn't break through Carter's wage guidelines with its proposed national agreement, but is the pact a sign of things to come?

Says a White House aide quoted by the *Wall Street Journal*, "The fact that the oil workers came in with such a responsible and reasonable settlement, within the guidelines, without a day of work stoppage, has to be very encouraging to the President and all his advisers."

Granted. Every time union officials bow to the wishes of employers, instead of confronting them with the

power of union members, it is "encouraging" to Democratic and Republican politicians.

But it seems more in the world of fantasy to generalize, as a Gulf executive does, that "the workers, they really know something is wrong" and are willing to make sacrifices.

As the *Journal* reports, "Administration officials privately were wary of predicting that the oil worker settlement will set a pattern of within-the-guidelines settlements from the Teamsters, Rubber Workers and other big unions with negotiations coming up soon."



OCAW's GROSPIRON

With the proposed agreement, we are expected to take a cut in real wages (the December inflation rate was 9 percent), as well as continue without the needed improvements in benefits.

At the ARCO refinery where I work, a petition signed by several hundred workers demanding dental coverage in the next contract was submitted to the international union. That demand was echoed nationwide and included in the national set of demands. But there is not a word about it in the new agreement.

There are also many local issues at stake. They include safety, elimination of jobs, disciplinary procedures, and grievance procedures. Most local unions settle these before accepting the national agreement.

When the national contract expired January 7, 150 members of the clerks'

unit at the huge Gulf Oil refinery in Port Arthur, Texas, walked off the job protesting an elimination of jobs resulting in speedup and forced overtime. The remaining 3,000 OCAW workers at Gulf have honored their picket line.

Other local strikes have since begun at the ARCO Polymers plant in Port Arthur and the Amoco chemical plant in Texas City.

There may be still more local strikes before the agreement is finally voted on by all 400 OCAW units. Unfortunately, they will pay the price of isolation. The companies, which would have been substantially hurt by a nationwide strike, will be in a much better position to continue near-normal production.

In the future, our union would do well to adopt the United Mine Workers policy: "No contract, no work."

Socialists win campaign disclosure fight

By Bob Schwarz

The Socialist Workers Party will not have to hand over names of its campaign contributors to the federal government. After a five-year battle, a court order was signed January 2 exempting SWP campaign committees from identifying contributors. The exemption lasts through the end of 1984.

The federal court said the socialists had demonstrated "a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of the names of their members, contributors, and recipients of expenditures will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from either government officials or private parties."

The decision came in a lawsuit filed by the SWP against the Federal Election Campaign Act. A consent decree, agreed to by both sides, was proposed by the SWP after both the defendants—the Federal Election Commission and Common Cause indicated they wanted to get out from under the case.

This is the first time a federal agency has officially conceded that the government subjects socialists to unconstitutional harassment. The ruling will aid the SWP's ongoing fight against the FBI.

Under the decision SWP campaign committees will have to continue to keep records of contributors and file reports with the Federal Election Commission, but they won't identify contributors.

In 1984, when the exemption expires, the SWP can apply for an extension.

According to attorney Charles Sims of the American Civil Liberties Union, which represented the SWP in the suit, the federal decision paves the way for winning parallel exemptions from state disclosure laws. Although they are not bound by it, Sims said, "state attorney generals will be inclined to accept the decision of a federal court that was in a position to look at all the evidence. It should be very persuasive."

Fake reform

The Federal Election Campaign Act that the SWP challenged was supposed to be the answer to popular outrage over capitalist political corruption exposed in the aftermath of Watergate. Supporters of the law, such as Common Cause, the self-styled "citizens' lobby" that helped write it, claimed the legislation would limit corporate influence in elections and make candidates responsible to the ordinary voter.

The law requires candidates to file frequent, detailed reports identifying contributors of more than \$100 and those they pay for printing, rent, and other services.

The SWP contended that these reports, which are public records, would be used by the FBI, local police agencies, and right-wing groups to victimize socialist supporters. As evidence the socialists filed thousands of pages of documents detailing government and right-wing harassment, including secret FBI files obtained through the SWP's suit against the FBI.

At the same time the SWP went on a vigorous campaign to explain that the law would not solve the problem of political corruption. But, the socialists explained, it would pose a serious threat to political freedom and would further restrict political expression outside the two capitalist parties.

As the *Militant* explained when the suit was filed in 1974: "As experience has shown, the only result of tightening controls on campaign financing is to drive the corruption further underground, not to end it."

"Illicit financial deals are diverted to more indirect routes. Money is 'laundered' through Mexican banks or foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. If limits are put on contributions, big donors simply break them down and have 10, 50, or 100 'friends' make the gifts."

"Illegal? Of course. But equally uncontrollable. And after all, the administrators of the law are the very same politicians and parties who are supposedly being controlled."

Impact on smaller parties

The effect on smaller parties—those challenging the political monopoly of the two capitalist parties—is just the opposite.

The disclosure law requires a monumental job of bookkeeping and paperwork. This is not a problem for the Democratic and Republican parties, who have teams of lawyers and accountants at their



Campaign disclosure laws, though touted by liberals as a 'reform,' aim to strengthen capitalist two-party monopoly over elections. Militant/Rita Lee

disposal. But complying with the law is a huge task for smaller parties and independent candidates. In many cases it is an even more onerous burden than the petitioning requirements imposed on independent candidates.

For candidates who represent working-class currents—including the SWP, the Communist Party, and others—by far the most dangerous requirement is that candidates hand over lists of contributors to the government.

It was this provision that the socialists went into court to challenge. They filed suit against the Federal Election Commission in federal court in Washington, D.C. Common Cause entered the case as an "intervenor defendant," a legal term for throwing your lot in with those being sued.

Throughout the long court battle, Common Cause argued for and aided the FEC. At first they claimed sympathy with the socialists' charges of harassment. But challenging the disclosure law was the wrong way to deal with it, they argued.

"By attacking the constitutionality of campaign finance laws" Common Cause said in 1975, "the Socialist Workers have gone off on a tangent. If they were to succeed, they would invalidate laws designed to prevent future Watergates and still not effectively prevent government harassment."

But as we have seen, these laws don't prevent anything of the sort. Their real purpose is something entirely different. The capitalist parties, led by liberals such as Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), took advantage of the widespread revulsion at the corruption revealed by Watergate to sneak through some additional obstacles to independent political action. Far from preventing "future Watergates," these laws reinforce the most corrupt aspect of U.S. politics—the virtual stranglehold on the electoral system maintained by the two capitalist parties.

Common Cause began devoting much of its considerable resources to beating the SWP challenge. In state after state they defended disclosure laws and took the side of the election officials against the SWP. Their liberal reputation provided cover for the most antidemocratic aspects of the laws.

Shameless attacks

In the end, their attacks on SWP claims of government harassment became more shameless than those of official agencies of the government. As recently as last year they told the court "the Central Intelligence Agency is not presently conducting any activity directed against the Socialist Workers Party which is intended to harass the Socialist Workers Party or its members in the exercise of their political rights." Who says so? The lawyer for the CIA!

Common Cause accused SWP candidates of being "stalking horses" for conservatives. An article in their January, 1975 newsletter said: "Some people ask why so poor a party as the SWP need disclose

its contributions. The answer is that any small party could be secretly financed by a major party or candidate to drain votes from an opponent."

In the 1974 Ohio gubernatorial elections, Democrat John Gilligan lost to Republican James Rhodes by less than the 97,000 votes SWP candidate Nancy Brown received. Following the election a Common Cause staff member told the *Harvard Law Review* that the SWP was getting secret Republican contributions. This was a deliberate lie.

However, Common Cause came under considerable pressure, even from its own supporters, not to side with the government against the SWP. Kenneth Guido, associate general counsel for Common Cause, complained in his organization's newsletter that "members of the Socialist Workers Party have been popping up at Common Cause meetings with harsh questions about our support of civil liberties."

Of course, it wasn't just SWP members who challenged Common Cause's reactionary stand. Many others who agreed with the socialists "popped up" to raise their objections to Common Cause policy.

In the end, the Federal Election Commission and Common Cause were forced to concede. In the face of mounting evidence of harassment of the SWP and waning public confidence in the value of these laws, they capitulated and agreed to the order recently signed by the court.

They agreed that the SWP "cannot constitutionally be compelled to comply with the reporting requirements."

"The record discloses," they conceded "that the Socialist Workers Party and persons connected with it have been subjected to systematic harassment" by the government.

Now Common Cause is trying to limit the victory by saying it won't apply to any other parties that have been victimized by government and right-wing harassment.

Common Cause attorney Ellen Block told the *Militant*, "I don't think the results [of the SWP victory] make a very large hole in the disclosure law."

Any other group seeking an exemption "will have to make the same kind of showing" of harassment that the SWP has. "Not many parties can come in and do that," she predicted.

But that simply is not true. While the facts about government operations against the SWP are perhaps the most widely known to the American people, many other parties and organizations have been subjected to the same illegal government activities.

The SWP victory clears the way for similar moves by the Communist Party, the Raza Unida Party, the Black Panther Party, and anyone else who has been targeted by the government, by the right-wing, or by racist forces.

It is truly a victory for all.

Young Socialists antinuke, divestment ca

By Omari Musa

As the Iranian masses were knocking away the props of the shah's brutal regime in Iran and the Cuban people were celebrating the twentieth anniversary of their revolution, 600 delegates and guests met in Pittsburgh December 28-January 1 for the eighteenth Young Socialist Alliance national convention.

Solidarity with the Iranian struggle to end the shah's tyranny fired the

Pathfinder sales

Sales of revolutionary literature were brisk at the YSA convention. Pathfinder Press reports that more than \$4,000 in books and pamphlets were sold.

Topping the list was *China After Mao* by Leslie Evans, 244 copies; *The Ethiopian Revolution* by Ernest Harsch, 146 copies; *Workers and Peasants to Power* by Hugo Blanco, 87 copies; and *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* by Joseph Hansen, 65 copies.

spirit of the gathering.

Convention delegates explained the wide interest in Iran on their campuses, the anti-shah activities that had been organized, and the growing interest in revolutionary Marxism among Iranian students.

Parvin Najafi, a staff writer for the Iranian socialist weekly *Payam Daneshjoo*, addressed the convention and gave a moving description of the massive mobilizations against the shah.

Susie Berman, editor of the *Young Socialist*, reported on revolutionary developments internationally. She pointed to Iran, Peru, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, and southern Africa as examples of the important upsurges in the semi-colonial world.

Berman explained that solidarity with struggles of the oppressed everywhere is fundamental to the YSA's fight for a socialist United States.

Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the YSA, reported on the political situation in this country. She described the increased activity and interest in socialist ideas among young people today. This is due, she explained, both to the impact of revolutionary struggles around the world and to important changes in the United States.

"There is growing resistance by working people and the oppressed in this country to the ruling-class offensive against our democratic rights and living standards," she said.

Sedwick pointed to the miners' strike and the July 9 demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment as prime examples of this resistance.

She noted that "two of the most



Solidarity with Iranian revolution dominated spirit of Young Socialist convention

important examples of new protests on campus are the growth of the movement against nuclear weapons and power, and the movement in solidarity with the liberation struggle in southern Africa."

Antinuke movement

Delegates from around the country reported on student participation in anti-nuclear power protests last November 11-19 in commemoration of the death of Karen Silkwood. Silkwood—who worked in a plutonium plant—died mysteriously while on her way to meet a reporter to expose unsafe working conditions at her plant.

National executive committee member Paul Mailhot drew together the experiences of the antinuke movement in a report to the gathering.

"While this is a new movement," he said, "it is already beginning to have an impact on the consciousness of American working people.

"Actions have already been called for Rocky Flats, Colorado, next April and June 3-4 as part of the International Days of Protest called by European antinuke organizations.

"These actions should be a focus of our activity. We want to help organize campus antinuke committees and participate in local protests."

So. Africa solidarity

The emergence of the movement in solidarity with the liberation struggle in southern Africa is also a central

aspect of the YSA's activity.

Many of the delegates were also leaders of campus divestment and anti-apartheid groups at their schools.

The YSA helped organize the tour of South African trade unionist Drake Koka and African solidarity conferences in New York City; Evanston, Illinois; and Durham, North Carolina, last fall. Those conferences approved March 18-24 and April 4-11 as weeks of coordinated protest on campuses across the country.

Dywnd Bell, a high school student from St. Louis, told the delegates that "these dates offer the divestment movement an opportunity to grow by reaching out to other students, Blacks, and unionists.

"It will allow activists to organize picket lines, forums, protests at board of trustees meetings, and where possible, demonstrations."

The convention also stressed the importance of education on the real issues in the southern Africa struggle.

Ernest Harsch, a reporter for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* who recently visited South Africa, showed slides and provided personal observations of what apartheid means for Blacks in South Africa.

Black and Chicano struggles

Anthony Gonzales of the San Antonio YSA reported that there is a revival of the Chicano student movement in Texas.

"Plans are under way for a statewide Chicano student conference in February. There are more than twenty Chicano student organizations involved in publicizing it," he said.

"The organizers of the conference have the perspective of creating an organization that can respond rapidly to cop terror and attacks on Chicano rights in general.

"We think this is a good perspective," Gonzales told the delegates, "and the YSA is throwing itself into building and participating in the conference."

New activity in the Black community and among Black students was also noted. The delegates discussed how the blows against Black rights have led to protests against cop murders, the *Bakke* decision, and in solidarity with the African liberation struggle.

Steve Williams of the Washington, D.C., YSA chapter explained:

"The capitalists are taking away our gains in education and employment. One of these attacks is against Black colleges in the South. The rulers are forcing these colleges to merge with white schools. What this does is lower the number of Blacks that are able to attend college.

"In light of the *Bakke* decision, this situation closes another door to educational opportunities for Black youth.

"An example of the developing resistance of Blacks is the fact that the University of the District of Columbia and Howard University organized a



Join the YSA!

Young people in the U.S. are moving into action to defend the freedom struggles of our sisters and brothers around the world. Their struggle is our struggle. Join the Young Socialist Alliance!

- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$2 for a one-year subscription to the 'Young Socialist.'
- ☐ I want more information on the YSA.

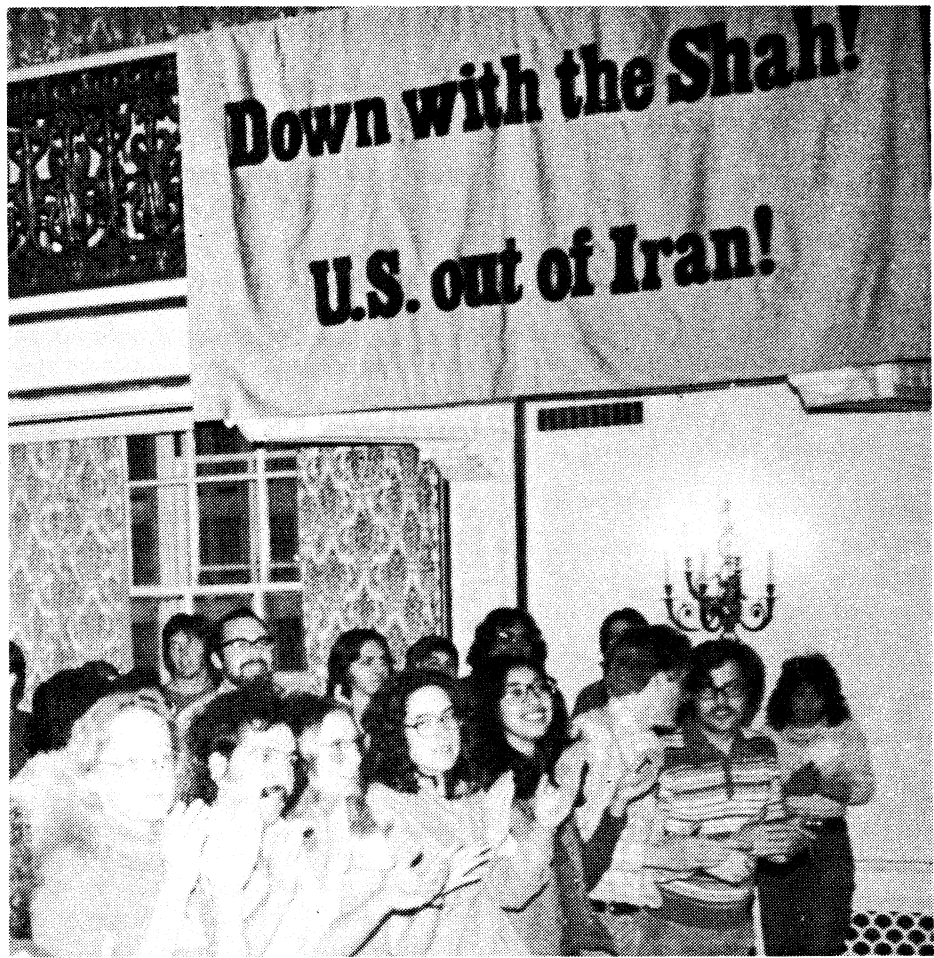
Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Delega
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at rally demanding the freedom of political prisoners from the United States to South Africa," Williams said. Maureen Colletta, a delegate from Boston, discussed the activities of campus women's groups.

Women students see that the attacks on the right to abortion, the A, and women's studies programs have the same source," she explained. The YSA will be helping to organize activities around International Women's Day and International Abortion Day in March.

Convention delegates discussed how the deepening struggles of trade unions are attracting students and young people.

Missouri delegates talked about the movement's defeat of the "right to work" referendum in that state. Students almost instinctively rallied to the unions to help defeat this on-busting referendum," St. Louis delegate Aaron Hatch told the convention. "Students and Black community organizations campaigned with unions explaining what was behind the referendum.

This proved to me beyond the shadow of a doubt the power of the working class when mobilized to fight its interests," he added.

opportunities ahead

At the convention delegates were told that more and more young people—students, workers, Blacks, lati-

nos, and women—are coming to socialist conclusions.

"This means we have greater opportunities than before to win them to our banner," national executive committee member Miguel Zárate told the gathering.

"The YSA's task coming out of this convention is to deepen our roots on the high schools and college campuses, sell the *Young Socialist* and *Militant*, participate in and help lead the coming battles, and recruit to the YSA."

The delegates agreed that one of the best ways to talk socialism with young people is to sell the YSA's newspaper, the *Young Socialist*.

More than 14,500 copies were sold last fall. The convention projected a sales drive with a goal of 5,000 per month in February, March, and April.

Zárate, summed up the YSA's perspective:

"The YSA's approach is to raise the broad issues of the class struggle on campus—imperialist war, racism, sexism, unemployment—educating students and organizing support on campus for the struggles of workers and the oppressed.

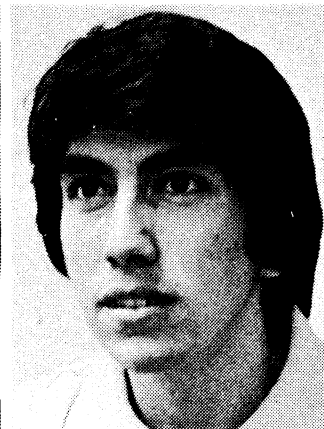
"At the same time, we link the issues of special concern to students to issues facing the working class. We seek to use the campuses as organizing centers to take struggles beyond school boundaries—and in doing so, to unite with the working class in the fight to abolish capitalism."



Militant/Susie Winsten



Militant/Afrodita Constantinidis



s elected new YSA officers. From left to right: Cathy Sedwick, national chair; Susie Berman, national secretary and editor of 'Young Socialist'; Miguel Zárate, organizational secretary.

'U.S. out of Africa'

The emergence of a new movement in solidarity with the liberation struggle in southern Africa was a central part of the Young Socialist Alliance convention discussions.

The demand that all ties between the United States and the white minority regime be cut immediately has been the focus of campus protests, rallies, and demonstrations across the country.

Discussion at the convention centered on the March 18-24 and April 4-11 weeks of nationally coordinated anti-apartheid protest activities. The call for these protests came from three regional conferences involving nearly 2,000 activists last fall.

"Divest now!" is the central demand of student anti-apartheid activists today. YSA delegates pointed to the power of this demand that universities stop investing in companies doing business in South Africa.

"It's a powerful demand in two ways," said Sally Rees, a founder of the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA).

"On the one hand, it is a concrete way for students to demand that the United States get out of Africa. On the other, it poses the question of who should make university policy—the students and faculty or the businessmen and lawyers on the boards of trustees."

The YSA delegates, many of whom are leaders and activists in their campus divestment groups, were optimistic that the student movement against the U.S. role in South Africa will grow.

"Our perspective is to move full steam ahead on the spring actions," said Eli Green, who presented the report on divestment to the convention.

"The March 18-24 and April 4-11 protests are precisely what are needed at this stage of the movement. We want to work together with other activists to broaden the campus committees that exist and help organize new committees."

"These actions also offer an opportunity to involve the Black community and the trade unions, bringing their power to bear on the U.S. government, banks, and corporations," Green said.

Another aspect of the discussion focused on the debate among students over what demands and strategy can best build the movement.

Delegates pointed out that at the NECLSA conference last November some participants urged that giving political and military support to specific liberation groups in southern Africa be the central "principle of unity" for NECLSA. This proposal was rejected by the majority of activists at the conference.

Green explained, "We support any effort to defeat imperialism. We support all groups struggling against imperialism—we are for their victory over imperialism."

"However," he continued, "in our opinion the only demand that effectively unites opponents of apartheid in action is the demand that the United States get out of southern Africa."

"For activists in the United States to try to choose which liberation groups should lead the struggle in Africa can only narrow and divide the solidarity movement here."

Green pointed to the example of Cuba's role in Africa.

"We in the YSA think the major force outside Africa that is aiding the African liberation struggle is the army of revolutionary Cuba."

"We consider Cuba's revolutionary troops one of the liberation groups in Africa."

"But while the YSA will continue to defend the Cubans and their role in Africa, we don't demand that other activists adopt our position on Cuba as a precondition for participating in the African solidarity movement."

"For us, the basis for unity in building the divestment and anti-apartheid struggle is the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. political, economic, and military support to the racist regimes. That is the way we can organize a mass movement."

Delegates also discussed plans for the upcoming tour of Maceo Dixon. A national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party and longtime Black activist, Dixon has just returned from a seven-week trip to Africa.

Fred Halstead, the 1968 SWP presidential candidate, will also be on a speaking tour this winter. He will speak on the antinuke struggle and his new book on the anti-Vietnam War movement, *Out Now!* —O.M.



So. Africa exile greets YSA

The following message was read to the YSA convention by Reginald Nyovane, an exiled South African student who was a leader of the Soweto rebellion that rocked the apartheid regime in 1976.

We in the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa salute the students and workers in the United States for their concerted efforts to demobilize the advance of U.S. imperialism.

The Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party are especially important to us because you understand the role played by the Black Consciousness Movement in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

We wish to solicit your continued support to put our case through to

the masses of the American people. Like you, the Black Consciousness Movement opposes all forms of human exploitation and repression.

We would also like to pledge solidarity with the Iranian masses and look forward to working with you.

South Africa gets 90 percent of its oil from the shah. Apartheid is firmly anchored on its oil supplies from Iran. For this reason the Iranian revolution is of special significance to the fighting people of South Africa.

The Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa realizes that meaningful change will come by the complete transfer of power to the indigenous people of South Africa and the complete transformation of the economic structure in favor of the toiling masses.

Threat to jail leaders

Court acts to halt FASH strike

By Brett Merkey

PITTSBURGH—The rights of independent steel haulers were dealt a serious blow in mid-January when U.S. District Judge Louis Rosenberg ordered the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH) to end its two-month-long strike.

"It's off. The strike is over," declared the black-robed strikebreaker. "It's at an end absolutely, and the status quo must be restored immediately."

U.S. Steel and six other steel companies requested the injunction. With shameless hypocrisy, these giant monopolies claim that the FASH strike violates antitrust laws! The employers argue that since FASH members own their rigs, the group is a business organization, not a union.

But the central issue in the truckers' shutdown is precisely their right to form their own union and bargain independently with the carriers they lease their rigs to and drive for. Out of some 30,000 steel haulers, 10,000 work under Teamster contracts. Even they are denied the right to vote on those contracts.

FASH is also demanding higher rates.

Judge Rosenberg has threatened to jail FASH President Bill Hill unless the injunction is obeyed and FASH's full membership list is turned over to the court.

Hill has asked strikers not to interfere with steel shipments. But he has left the decision on whether to end the strike in their hands, saying he can't

make them return to work "against their will."

Rosenberg's injunction prohibits picketing that interferes with deliveries, but it "doesn't compel" strikers to go back to work, according to a FASH attorney.

More than 350 Pittsburgh-area strikers—victimized by the steel companies, state and local cops, the FBI, Teamster goon squads, and media attacks—voted a resounding "no" to the back-to-work order following Rosenberg's ruling.

Commenting on the firing of several steel haulers and a recent rate increase to the carrier companies that will mean a pay cut for truckers, George Grimes, secretary of FASH, told the *Militant*:

"We have no choice but to stay out."

Donate \$9,000

Iron range rally backs Inco strike

By Stu Singer

EVELETH, Minn.—Iron ore miners here rallied last month in support of 12,000 striking nickel miners in Sudbury, Ontario. It was one year ago that the Iron Range steelworkers ended their 138-day strike.

The Inco miners in Sudbury are organized in United Steelworkers Local 6500. They've been on the picket line since September 16.

Almost \$9,000 was raised from USWA locals on the range and during plant-gate collections for the International Nickel (Inco) strikers.

The December 15 rally here at the National Guard Armory was addressed by officials of five Iron Range USWA locals, two Inco strikers, and Ed Sadlowski, who ran for USWA president in the February 1977 election.

The rally opened with the singing of "Solidarity Forever." Sadlowski, whose campaign was strongly supported both in Sudbury and on the Iron Range, stressed the importance of labor solidarity.

"Their strike against International Nickel is no different than your strike was against U.S. Steel, Inland, and Republic," Sadlowski said. "International Nickel is not some foreign firm on the North American continent trying to take away jobs from workers in the U.S. The same people who have been cutting the Sudbury miners' throats have been cutting our throats for a month of Sundays."

Sadlowski also referred to the fact that the Inco nickel monopoly was founded by financial tycoon J.P. Morgan at nearly the same time Morgan put together the U.S. Steel monopoly. Inco remains largely controlled by the same American capitalists who run U.S. Steel.

"The House of Morgan has their tentacles in International Nickel," Sadlowski said.

"So we want to pass on this message—their strike is our strike."

Joe Samargia, president of Iron Range Local 1938, chaired the rally. He also spoke of international solidarity, pointing to the strike by West German steelworkers. (For news on the settlement of that strike, see page 21.)

"We are looking at an international situation where U.S. miners and steelworkers are trying to raise money for Canadian steelworkers, and I have a message from an even further area—from West Germany," Samargia told the rally.

"A year ago when we had our rally in Hibbing, two West German steelworkers came to the rally and presented us with \$3,000. As they were

leaving that day, we shook hands, and I said to them, 'If you ever go on strike, be sure to let us know.'

"Well, last week they called and said, 'We finally hit the bricks—first time in fifty-five years.'

"These steelworkers in Germany are striking for the thirty-five-hour week. Eighty thousand are on strike. So we truly have an international rally for three different countries."

"The grass will be green before we go back," predicted Sudbury striker John Geslin.

Ed Cousineau, a nickel miner for thirty-eight years, told the rally, "Our fight against this multinational corporation is not only our fight. The multinational corporations get together and get richer and bigger at the expense of the workers. So of necessity we have to band together and support each other morally, financially, and otherwise. With the kind of support we have here tonight, we shall not be moved. We will not be moved."

Willard Anderson, president of Local 2660 at Hanna Mining, spoke of the need to establish a common expiration date for the contracts of USWA miners in the United States and Canada. The separate expiration dates have led to the situation of Canadian Iron ore miners working during the U.S. iron ore strike and the U.S. miners working when the Canadian iron miners went on strike.

Local 4757 President Bill Larson

reported on the lengths to which his company, Reserve Mining, went to break the union's support for the Sudbury strike.

"On Sunday we posted the leaflets about this rally at work. Monday morning I got a call from the Industrial Relations person," Larson said. "He told me he wanted them taken down. He said this Canadian strike is none of the business of our local union. 'We're not going to allow this on company property,' he told me. 'Who do you think you are, coming here and putting things like that up?'"

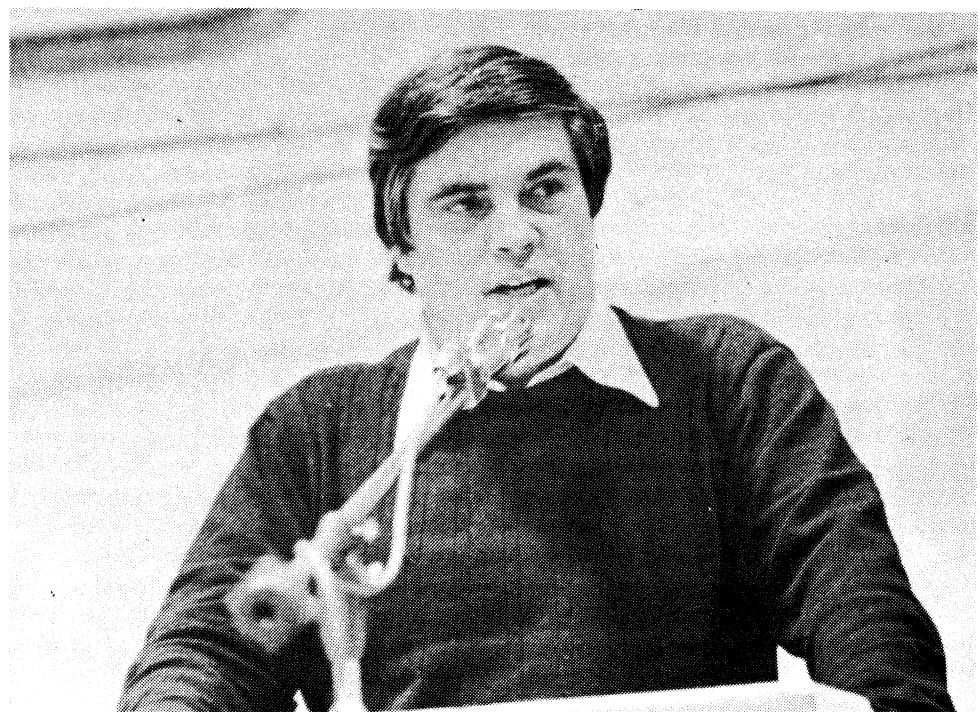
"I told him to go to hell."

Local 4757 collected more than \$1,000 for Sudbury in spite of the company's opposition.

At Inland Steel's Minorca mine, the smallest and newest taconite operation on the Iron Range with about 450 hourly workers, the largest per capita contribution to the Sudbury strike was made.

Local 6115 President Roger Klander, along with a number of volunteers, stood at the gate during four shift changes, all in below-freezing weather, handing out leaflets and collecting money. Almost two dollars per member was raised this way. This activity led to discussions at work about international solidarity and the right to strike.

The U.S. Basic Steel Contract, which covers the iron ore mines, expires in 1980, and there is increasing talk here of the strengths and weaknesses of the 1977 strike and what to do next. A victory in Sudbury would be an inspiration to U.S. miners.



ED SADLOWSKI: 'The same people who have been cutting the Sudbury miners' throats have been cutting our throats for a month of Sundays.'

New York CETA workers fight cutbacks

By Rosalie Schwartz

NEW YORK—One casualty of the budget-cutting fever sweeping Congress and the Carter administration is the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA).

In October, Congress extended the program, which provided about 750,000 jobs last year, for another four years. But the new legislation will cut 100,000 of those jobs during 1979, lower the maximum pay, and, with few exceptions, limit the time that an employee can be funded under CETA to eighteen months. This means that most current CETA workers face a cut-off date of October 1, 1979.

CETA was first enacted in 1973 with the stated aim of providing training for the "hardcore under- and unemployed." Since then, unemployment figures have spiraled upwards. The unemployed who temporarily find work under CETA are soon back on the streets.

In New York, during the city budget crisis of 1974-75, laid-off professional and semiskilled city workers were rehired under CETA in a deal the municipal unions worked out with city officials. In the process these workers lost their pension plans, and many were downgraded in salary.

Most have continued working under CETA, but like other CETA workers across the country, their jobs have been based on one-year or less contracts.

The new CETA legislation does allow for a waiver of the eighteen-month limit in areas of "unusual economic hardship" or high unemployment, which New York City surely qualifies for. But the secretary of labor has to approve waivers, and it is not certain who is covered and for how long.

About half New York's 40,000 CETA employees belong to municipal unions—the majority are members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37.

CETA workers have many problems, including inadequate grievance procedures and forced "out of title" work. But the question of job security remains our central concern.

On November 15, about seventy-five New York CETA workers met to discuss how to defend and improve our jobs. The CETA Workers Organizing Committee was formed and is preparing two petitions—one to demand that the Labor Department grant a permanent waiver of the eighteen-month limit in areas of high unemployment, and the other calling upon DC 37 officials to fight for the waiver and for the other needs of CETA workers.

Local 1930 of the Library Guild has passed a resolution demanding that regular job openings be offered to CETA workers, who make up one-third of the library staff. The local also approved setting up a CETA committee, which is working on CETA demands for the 1980 DC 37 contract.

We can best defend our needs by winning other such support from the municipal unions. The fight of CETA workers is part of the struggle to block the cutback artists—in Washington, Albany, and New York City. It is in the interest of all public workers to defend our rights.

Socialist faces trial in Colo. free speech fight

By Sue Adley

DENVER—A battle over free speech and civil liberties is developing in Pueblo, Colorado. On one side stand a university administration and the local district attorney; on the other, a growing list of prominent supporters of democratic rights.

At issue is whether or not Steve Marshall, a twenty-six-year-old welding student at Denver's Community College, will face a six-month prison sentence for passing out a flyer on public property.

Marshall was press secretary to Elsa Blum, the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for governor in the November 1978 elections.

When Blum was denied the right to participate in a debate between the Democratic and Republican candidates at the University of Southern Colorado in Pueblo, she and Marshall stood in the public lobby of the building and distributed flyers to the assembling audience.

The flyers were a statement requesting equal time in the debate for Blum, signed by thirty prominent Coloradans, and a statement by Blum herself.

Five minutes before the start of the debate, a campus cop ordered Marshall to stop leafleting and threatened him with arrest if he continued.

As Marshall continued to lawfully exercise his First Amendment right, he told several students of the officer's threat. At that point James Tising, director of Campus Security, ordered Marshall arrested. He was handcuffed, searched, and pushed into a police car as Gov. Dick Lamm, the Democratic candidate, walked by.

Marshall was charged with disorderly conduct and released. He has pleaded not guilty, and a trial has been set for April 2.



Steve Marshall discussing socialists' view of Iranian revolution. Pueblo, Colorado, authorities arrested him for leafleting a debate between Democrats and Republicans.

The response in Pueblo was immediate. The American Civil Liberties Union offered its support, as did two local attorneys, Jerry Porter and Joe Ulibarri. Ulibarri is a former assistant attorney general of Colorado and is chairperson of the Chicano Democratic Caucus in Pueblo.

On the university campus, a free speech rally was organized by the student government and Chicanos United for Action. Speakers there included Al Gurule, a former gubernatorial candidate of the Raza Unida Party;

Shirley Levinson, Colorado chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; several faculty and student leaders; Marshall; and Blum.

Within the next few weeks, dozens of telegrams poured into the offices of the district attorney and university president demanding that charges against Marshall be dropped.

A press conference in Denver featured James Joy, executive director of the Colorado Civil Liberties Union; James Reynolds, director of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission; and

Carole Mangan, president of the Central Denver chapter of the National Organization for Women. They expressed their full support for the socialists' right to free speech.

The University of Southern Colorado has had difficulty in maintaining a consistent version of the arrest. First university officials claimed Marshall interrupted the debate with shouts for equal time.

"That fiction can be cleared up by Governor Lamm," says Marshall, "who saw me in handcuffs before he even entered the building. We intend to call the governor as a witness in the trial."

Next the university amended the complaint to charge Marshall with making "unreasonable noise." This refers to his telling students of the arrest threat.

For several months the university claimed that it was not pressing charges. But on December 13, at a pretrial conference, an assistant district attorney told Marshall and his attorneys that USC President Richard Pesqueira was insisting that the case be prosecuted.

At the Denver press conference, Marshall emphasized that it is not simply the right of one student or one political party at stake in this case but the rights of all the students and faculty on the campus to hear and express different political ideas.

Supporters of free speech are asked to send messages demanding the charges against Marshall be dropped to: Dr. Richard Pesqueira, University of Southern Colorado, Pueblo, Colorado 81001; and to District Attorney Joseph Losavio, Tenth and Main, Pueblo, Colorado 81003. Copies should be sent to: Socialist Workers Party, 126 West Twelfth Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80204.

Ruth Querio, veteran Trotskyist

By Kipp Dawson

PITTSBURGH—After forty-five years as a socialist fighter, Ruth Querio died here November 26 at the age of seventy-two. On December 13 many of her comrades, family, and friends met at the Socialist Workers Party hall to celebrate her life.

Frank Lovell, a national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke of Querio's first experience with politics in Allentown, Pennsylvania.

"Like many thousands of working-class families, Ruth, her husband, and young daughter were destitute in 1933 when this country was in the depths of the depression.

"Her husband had been a mill worker, a silk weaver. When the workers began to organize for their own protection against overwork and low pay, the mill owners at first blacklisted those they thought were ringleaders and later began closing down the mills altogether."

With no work available and no money to pay rent, the Querios were evicted from their home.

"Members of the National Unemployed League learned about the eviction of the Querio family and came to their aid," Lovell said. "This taught Ruth that she and her family were not alone."

Lovell described how Ruth became an activist in the unemployed movement and through her work there came into contact with the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, then led by A.J. Muste.

Querio became involved in the CPLA's discussions about the need for a working-class political party. In a 1973 interview, she said she learned during the depression that since nothing is given to working people, "you have to fight every inch of the way. Since 1933, I believed that workers must have their own world."

"Ruth Querio was no idle dreamer," Lovell continued. "She wanted to make things happen." This propelled her to joining the Workers Party of America. The Workers Party, forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party, was formed in November 1934 when the CPLA fused with the Trotskyist Communist League of America.



RUTH QUERIO

Militant/Fred Stanton

Querio helped steer the Allentown branch of the Workers Party through difficult times, including a raiding action by agents of the Communist Party.

In a message to the meeting here, SWP leaders Farrell Dobbs and Marvel Scholl recalled that "Ruth lived in and for the party. Despite years of untold suffering from several physical ailments, she never let her illness stand in the way of self-imposed assignments—unable to march in antiwar demonstrations she often stood in the cold of a Pittsburgh winter to sell the *Militant*."

"For many years Ruth helped keep the idea of socialism alive in Pittsburgh, working in almost total isolation, after the former Pittsburgh branch was dissolved. And then, when she found a few young people responsive to her revolutionary ideas, she contributed as much as possible to the building of a new branch."

One of those young people was Paul LeBlanc, who helped to found the new Pittsburgh branch of the SWP in 1973.

LeBlanc told the memorial meeting, "Through

the 1950s and early 1960s the Trotskyist movement and the organized left in general had shrunk down to almost nothing in Pittsburgh. There were intense pressures to conform to the seemingly affluent and all-powerful capitalist status quo. But Ruth refused to give up the insights, the understanding, or the hopes that she had developed in the revolutionary socialist movement. . . .

"It was such a joy for those of us who were young radicals in the mid-1960s to discover that there was an old fighter like Ruth who hadn't been beaten, who hadn't given up, who was still there—expecting us, waiting for us, an older person ready to join us and encourage us and share with us as much knowledge and energy as she could in the fight against war, racism, and all forms of injustice.

"And the fact that a new generation was ready to struggle for a better world was, I know, a source of great joy for her, too. It was a case of love at first sight."

Many of Querio's comrades sent messages to the meeting. Some described her enthusiasm over the new women's movement and the Socialist Workers Party's active participation in it. Veteran Trotskyists, including Sam Gordon, Anne Chester, and Regina Shoemaker, hailed Querio's long and ever-optimistic dedication to her party.

LeBlanc summed it up. "Ruth was lucky to be so valued. But she was lucky, also, to be a revolutionary socialist.

"It adds a rich meaning to a person's life to struggle for socialism—a society in which our class, the masses of working people, are in charge of the economy and running the government to make sure that each person is valued and has the opportunity to grow and develop and create for himself or herself a richly meaningful life, a community in which each person gives according to their abilities and receives according to their needs.

"Ruth was lucky to have been animated by this goal. And so are we. And we're very lucky to have known and been a part of the life of this fine and wonderful person."

How to stop the slaughter

Fighting for a safe workplace

By Arnold Weissberg
(second of two parts)

On paper, workers are guaranteed safe and healthy working conditions by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) or other federal agencies such as the Mine Safety and Health Administration.

But the nearly 5,000 job deaths in 1977 and the 100,000 deaths every year from job-related injuries or disease are powerful evidence that something is very wrong.

That these regulatory agencies even exist, and that there are health and safety laws to begin with, is only the result of struggle by the labor movement. To keep those laws on the books, to strengthen them, and to see that they're actually enforced will take an even bigger battle.

OSHA has a \$136 million budget, which doesn't go very far in covering more than 4 million workplaces.

In 1976, OSHA conducted only 76,600 inspections. And its jurisdiction extends only to firms with more than fifteen employees.

The Mine Safety and Health Administration, although armed with a tougher set of laws than OSHA, can hardly be said to have made coal mining a safe job. Last year, 136 miners died at work.

Working people have gotten no help from the courts, Congress, or President Carter. In the recent *Simpson* decision, to take only one example, the Supreme Court ruled that a worker who refuses a dangerous assignment can be fired.

Congress, for its part, has regularly threatened to cut back on OSHA's already limited powers.

And the White House stalled for months on setting limits for exposure to lung-damaging cotton dust because it was so "costly" to industry. (Implementation of the rules is still being held up in federal court.)

Perhaps the crudest example of the administration's attitude toward job health and safety came when OSHA finally agreed to limit worker exposure to the metal beryllium. Energy Secretary James Schlesinger declared such limits a threat to "national security."

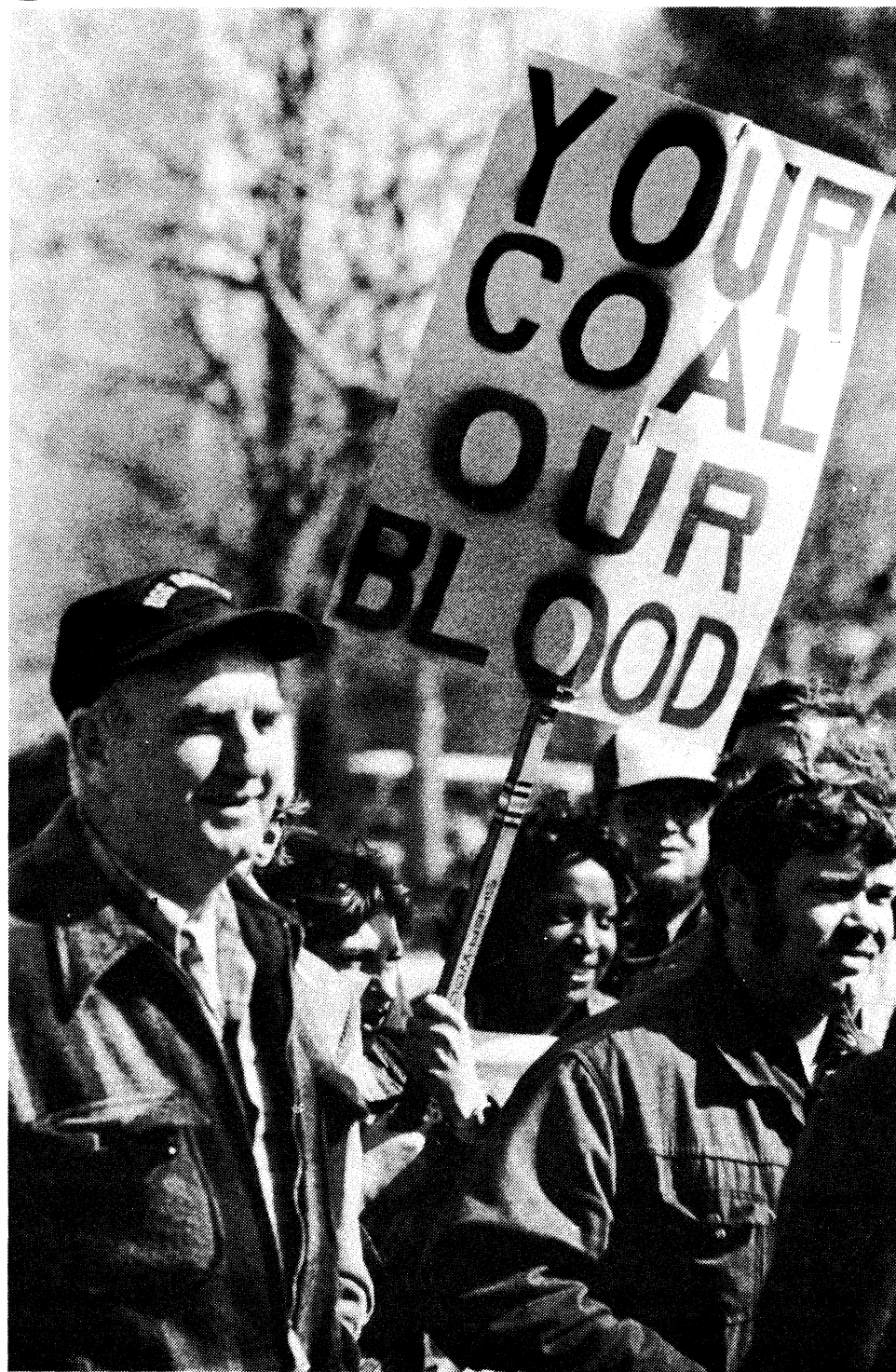
Employers' war chests

The employers, not content to leave the fight against job safety in the "eager to please" hands of government officials, have established their own war chests.

The misnamed American Industrial Health Council is one such outfit. It was set up in 1977 by 100 corporations and has a \$1 million yearly budget. Its sole purpose is to fight against government regulation of workplace hazards.

Every industry has its own group, and every one of them is dedicated to fighting health and safety rules.

In the face of government inaction and sabotage and a well-financed anti-OSHA campaign by the employers,



Militant/Nancy Cole

Not relying on government or industry, miners have used their own strength in fight for safe working conditions.

working people have only their unions to turn to.

Workers in the most dangerous industry—coal mining—have shown how much a serious fight by a powerful union can win.

The coal miners' battles have won them not only safety and black lung compensation laws but also a right crucial to enforcing these laws: union-controlled safety committees with the power to shut down a mine in cases of imminent danger.

The coal industry resisted every step of the way. And the operators continue to resist to this day. Consider the two-and-a-half-year strike in Stearns, Kentucky. The Stearns miners want one simple thing and the Blue Diamond Coal Company has bitterly fought against it: a United Mine Workers contract with the provision for a union safety committee.

How did the coal miners overcome the vast influence and power of the coal operators and win these concessions?

100,000 killed

Nearly 100,000 miners had died in accidents during this century by the time of the Farmington, West Virginia, mine blast that killed seventy-eight miners in November 1968.

Without waiting for advice from the corrupt Tony Boyle officialdom, which had a cozy relationship with the coal operators, miners shut down every operation in West Virginia demanding safety legislation. They got it with the 1969 coal mine health and safety law.

Around the same time on another

health front, miners and disabled miners gave up on getting action from the union higher-ups in their fight for black lung compensation. Some 3,000 miners converged on Charleston, West Virginia, in early 1969 to demand legislation. The West Virginia Black Lung Association was born.

The miners had taken an important step toward taking control of their union back from the Tony Boyle machine. Through a movement of protests and strikes they won black lung laws. And the association went on to provide troops for the Miners for Democracy campaign.

The MFD commitment to safe working conditions and decent health care was vital in turning out the Boyle mob in the 1972 union election. When the newly elected leadership negotiated its first contract with the coal bosses two years later, the miners won their right to refuse dangerous work and the safety committee's authority to shut down the mine or mine sections. Essentially the contract granted a limited right to strike over safety.

This right was one of the givebacks the coal operators demanded and the miners successfully turned back during last year's 110-day coal strike.

Workers want say

The contractual rights of coal miners on the job—leaving aside whether they're consistently enforced or not—are the exception in the union movement. Yet working people in every industry are becoming more and more concerned with job safety and health. They want to do something about the hazards they face.

According to a survey recently released by the U.S. Labor Department, three out of four workers believe they should have "complete say" or "a lot of say" over workplace safety practices.

This sentiment in the ranks has been reflected in numerous health and safety committees established at all levels in the union movement. According to the July 16-31 issue of *UAW Ammo*, a publication of the United Auto Workers, the cornerstones of the union's health and safety program are:

"(1) engineering and process controls, (2) unrestricted information about hazards, (3) stronger OSHA regulations and enforcement, and (4) strong contract protections, including the right to strike over serious uncorrected hazards."

In December, 1,300 members of International Chemical Workers Local 111 struck American Cyanamid in New Jersey. Nine cases of bladder cancer can be traced directly to chemical exposure in the plant. Nearly half the workers who have been in the plant twenty years have lung abnormalities.

The union is demanding improved safety procedures, information on the hazards of the chemicals workers use, regular medical checkups, and the right to know the results of the checkups.

The strikers also want a pay boost, more than Carter's 7 percent wage guideline.

The Cyanamid strikers are taking on one of the worst workplace health abuses. Many employers refuse outright to tell workers what they're exposed to, let alone what the hazards are. And very often the results of medical checkups by company doctors also remain company property.

The right to know

The simple demand—the right to know—can be a powerful weapon.

While workers are demanding that their unions take increasingly forthright stands against industrial slaughter, the employers are more loudly demanding their "right" to make a profit no matter what it costs in workers' lives. Democratic and Republican politicians alike have joined in on the chorus of "overregulation."

The government and the bosses on one side, and the unions on the other—that's the lineup on safe and healthy working conditions.

The carnage will not stop until unions take the situation in hand.

Working people must control working conditions.

Workers must have the right to see company records to know what hazards they're exposed to on the job.

Elected union safety committees must have the power to shut down unsafe job sites.

Workers must have the right to strike over health and safety grievances.

Union committees must have the power to determine the pace of work, because if the bosses can enforce speedup, no one is safe.

None of this is compatible with the continued existence of the profit system. If worker health and safety came before profits, instead of the other way around, the capitalist system would grind to a halt.

That is why the fight for safe working conditions is a *political* fight. Ultimately, the rights of working people can only be protected by a government of working people.

Health and safety will not become a priority until we have a government controlled by and made up of working people—a government that puts its power on the side of the vast majority, not on the side of the tiny handful of capitalists who benefit from human misery.

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by Art Preis

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On-the-scene report

Why So. African Blacks oppose U.S. investment

Last fall August Nimitz spent a week in South Africa. Most U.S. Blacks are barred from that country by its racist rulers, but Nimitz was allowed in as a faculty member of the Semester at Sea Program, in which he was teaching several courses in African politics.



While there, Nimitz, other teachers in the program, and students arranged interviews with South African Blacks as well as with U.S. corporate and government officials in that country. The following article is based on that information.

By August Nimitz

Under South African law, it is illegal to "discourage, hamper, deter or prevent foreign investment in the economy of the Republic."

Leaders of the banned Black People's Convention, for example, are currently serving extended prison sentences because they publicly wrote to foreign-based corporations in 1972 that the BPC "reject[s] the involvement of foreign investors in this exploitative economic system."

Despite such laws, Black South Africans are more than willing to speak out against the role of American and other foreign companies in propping up the apartheid regime. In conversations and interviews with Blacks in Durban, Johannesburg, and Cape Town, I was told repeatedly that these corporations should pull out of South Africa immediately.

Among young Blacks in that country, this opinion is virtually unanimous. They view as absurd the claim that U.S. corporations can improve the conditions of Blacks.

"It's an excuse for American businesses to protect their own interests," a Cape Town Black activist told me.

Not one supporter

I did not meet one Black who spoke favorably of foreign corporations.

This is despite the fact that I talked with a number of Black South Africans employed by the U.S. government—people you might at first think would be influenced by Washington's propaganda.

The closest thing I heard to a positive comment about U.S. investment,

however, was from one of these U.S. government employees. "While it is true that these companies provide some jobs for our people," he said, "overall they help to strengthen the government, which is not in our interest."

A leader in Soweto—the large Black township outside Johannesburg, where mass student demonstrations occurred two years ago—took issue with U.S. Black leader Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League. Jordan has said that Blacks in South Africa welcome American investment.

"This [claim] is not true," the Soweto leader said. "We do not want these corporations here. When these people [like Jordan] come to South Africa, why don't they come and talk with us and find out our real views?"

My conversations jibe with other reports on Black South African attitudes toward U.S. investment. The U.S. ambassador to South Africa sent a confidential memo to the State Department in 1977 analyzing these attitudes. He concluded:

"[It] must be expected that the role of American firms here will become increasingly controversial and rationale for continued presence will seem less and less persuasive to growing numbers of blacks." (*Southern Africa* magazine, April 1978.)

The report also pointed out that "radicalized blacks, most often young, urban sector, see foreign investors as deliberately blind to inequities of the South African social system and indeed prepared to profit by it through low wages and submissive labor force it offers. This anti-capitalist reasoning contends that even if foreign firms offer minor reforms, it is only to create comfortable black middle class which will perpetuate exploitation of African masses."

Real U.S. corporate role

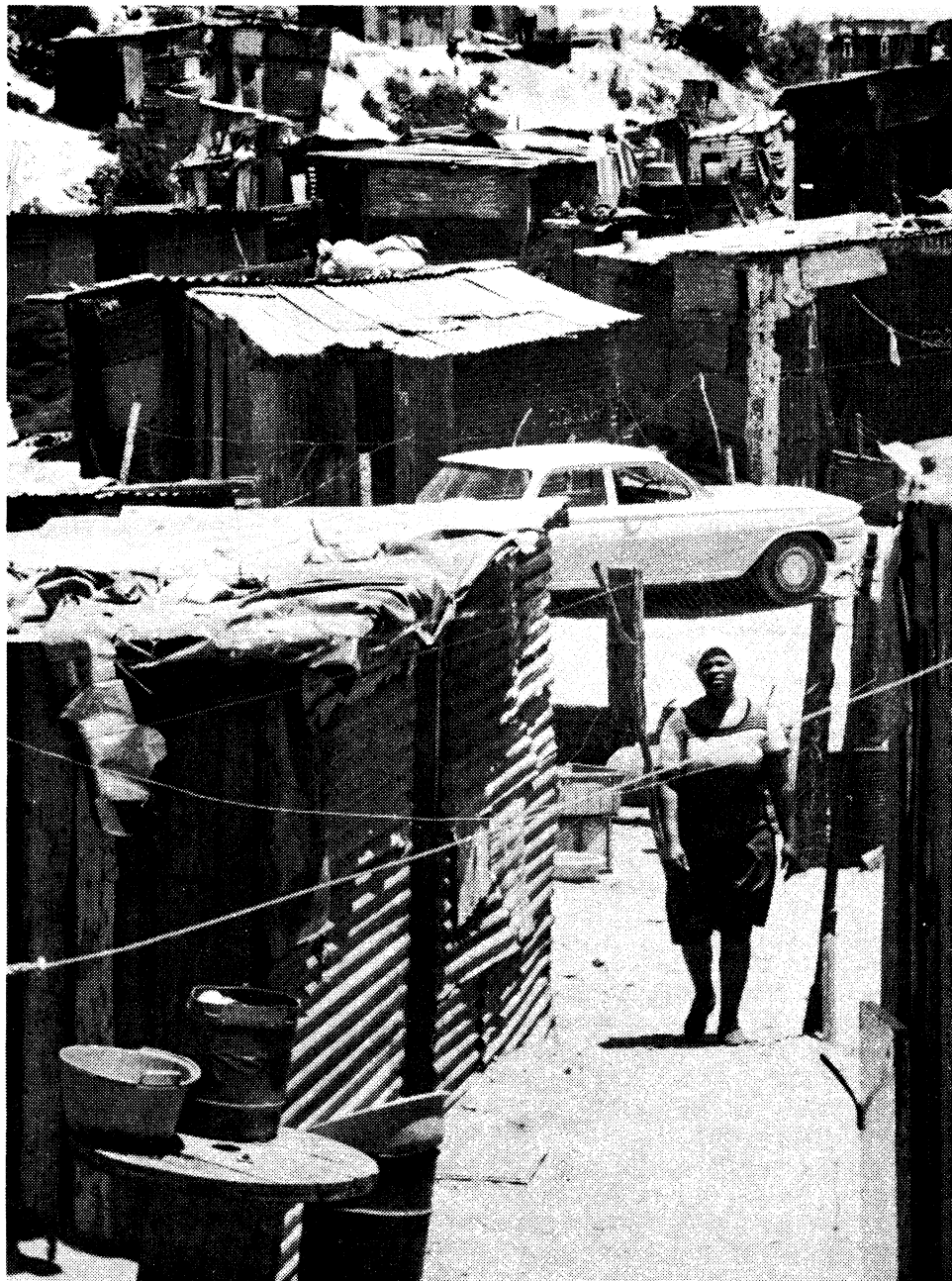
These attitudes are hardly surprising, given the cooperation of U.S. corporations with the apartheid system.

The Carnation Company in Durban is an example. In that plant, which is totally owned by its U.S. parent company, only non-Blacks are allowed to hold supervisory positions. When interviewed by others in the Semester at Sea program, the plant manager justified this policy by saying that "Blacks do not want to be supervised by other Blacks."

Carnation has recently increased the pay of its Black employees, virtually all unskilled laborers, to about eighty cents (in U.S. terms) an hour. The plant manager said, however, that this is costing the company too much money.

So Carnation is instituting more automation to reduce labor costs by phasing out the jobs of Black workers.

The official U.S. government position is that it neither encourages nor discourages American investment in South Africa. With the growing awareness and indignation among Ameri-



Militant/Ernest Harsch

U.S. corporations in South Africa claim they must abide by racist apartheid laws. Those laws relegate Black workers to worst living conditions, such as these iron shacks in the squatters town of Crossroads.

cans about the plight of Black South African workers, however, Washington has tried to take a stance less embarrassing to Carter's human rights demagoguery. Its current position is to support the Sullivan Code, a set of "guidelines" drawn up two years ago by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a Black minister and member of the General Motors Board of Directors.

The Sullivan Code

The Sullivan Code "urges" U.S. investors to ensure equal and fair treatment for Blacks.

The fact that the racist South African regime endorses the Sullivan Code raises questions about its effectiveness right off the bat! And there is no way to force compliance with it, even if the code were any solution to the problems of Black South Africans—which it isn't.

Time magazine says that in none of the sixty U.S. plants it surveyed in South Africa "was a copy of the Sullivan Code easily available to non-white employees," although a third of these plants had signed the code, including the biggest U.S. firms.

The Carnation plant in Durban, also an endorser, was no exception. In fact, while the plant manager had heard of the Sullivan principles, he was unsure of what was in them.

The U.S. Consulate in Cape Town—which is responsible for "urging" adoption of the code—admits that it has no power to make companies even endorse, let alone enforce, the principles.

A public information officer at the General Motors plant in Port Elizabeth was not exactly talkative when questioned by Semester at Sea participants about the company's racial policies. He admitted he could not be very open about such inquiries, especially given

the poor publicity GM got in a recent *Time* article.

So the very corporation on whose board Reverend Sullivan sits won't inform the public about its treatment of Black workers.

Complete fraud

Even if these glaring inadequacies of the Sullivan Code could be corrected, however, that would be no answer to the fundamental problem. The fact is that U.S. corporations directly profit from the superexploitation of Black workers that apartheid makes possible. That is why they obey the racist government's apartheid laws and—while making token statements against this system—act as a major pillar of the entire white supremacist regime.

Ray White, the U.S. consul general, made it clear during a talk with Semester at Sea participants in November that Washington had no intention of urging U.S. corporations to disobey racist South African laws. These laws bar Black unions from participating in negotiations over wages and working conditions. They classify jobs and assign supervisory positions on the basis of race.

To not challenge such laws means to comply with apartheid.

Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the case of U.S. government institutions themselves in South Africa. Officials, both Black and white, told me that Black personnel are consistently paid less than whites. The U.S. agencies justify this on the grounds that they must comply with the discriminatory pay scale system that exists in the private sector.

Little wonder that most South African Blacks I spoke with had extremely little regard for Reverend Sullivan and his "principles."

Algeria

What course after Boumediene

By Will Reissner

The December 27 death of Algeria's President Houari Boumediene following a forty-day coma has increased speculation about the country's future course.

Boumediene's death leaves a large vacuum to be filled. In recent years he had concentrated tremendous power in his hands, serving simultaneously as chief of state, minister of defense, and head of the only legal party—the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN—National Liberation Front). Although the 1976 constitution empowered the president to name a vice-president and prime minister, Boumediene had chosen not to do so.

Speaker of the National Popular Assembly Rabah Bitat was named interim president, but the constitution stipulates that the FLN must choose within forty-five days a successor, who is then to be ratified by popular referendum.

In fact the successor will be named by the eight remaining members of the Council of the Revolution, with the FLN rubber-stamping the council's choice.

The Council of the Revolution was the body led by Boumediene that staged a successful coup against Ahmed Ben Bella on June 19, 1965. That coup ended the leftward development of the Ben Bella years.

Although Algeria's National Charter describes the country as "irreversibly socialist," while making Islam the state religion, and although Boumediene often used socialist and anti-imperialist rhetoric, Algeria remains capitalist, despite the state's control over a large portion of the national economy.

The extent of state ownership is the result of the circumstances under which Algeria won its independence. In contrast to most colonies, there was large-scale European immigration into Algeria in the colonial period. At the time of independence approximately 1 million Europeans lived in the country. Algiers, the capital, was overwhelmingly French in population.

On the eve of independence, Europeans controlled 65% of agricultural production. Control of industry was even more striking. In 1956, for example, fewer than 40 of the 1,140 corporations in the province of Algiers were owned by Algerians. The French also numerically dominated the civil service.

Because of the massive French presence, the Algerian capitalist class was even more stunted than the typical colonial bourgeoisie.

When Algeria gained its independence in 1962, after seven years of guerrilla struggle and bloody repression, there was a massive exodus of Europeans from the country. By 1968 fewer than 30,000 French remained.

In effect this meant that virtually the entire capitalist class had left in the space of a few years, abandoning their factories and farms.

Algerian workers and peasants responded by taking over the abandoned property and running it themselves. Some 430 industrial enterprises were taken over by workers who formed self-management committees to run them. More than 2,000 huge European estates were occupied by agricultural laborers who ran them collectively.

The Ben Bella regime accepted these moves and recognized the organs that had developed spontaneously. The regime tried, however, to reestablish its control over the seized enterprises through the introduction of a director named by the state in each enterprise



Massive mobilizations of Algerian people created a workers and farmers government. But 1965 coup by Boumediene reversed this trend.

and through strangulation of resisting self-managed enterprises by the banks and the administration.

By 1963 Ben Bella's regime had been effectively transformed into a workers and peasants government, one in which the bourgeoisie had been displaced from political power and far-reaching changes in property relations had taken place. It did not, however, take decisive steps to destroy the vestiges of the bourgeoisie, nor did it move to establish a workers state.

Ben Bella's unwillingness to establish firm control over the actions of the masses led the Algerian bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie to hail the 1965 Boumediene coup as a way of reestablishing capitalist law and order in the country.

Because of the weakness of the capitalist class the state had to remain the prime force in the accumulation of capital and economic development.

But under Boumediene this state capitalism was organized to benefit the bourgeoisie and ensure its future enrichment and strengthening. While the state made large infrastructural investments and nationalized key elements of the economy, the bourgeoisie was given incentives and guaranteed markets for investments in the consumer sector.

Algerian "socialism" has been a boon to the capitalist class. By 1976 the private sector of the economy represented more than half of national production, excluding petroleum and natural gas production. Approximately 80% of retail and wholesale trade is in private hands, as is more than 60% of construction and public works, and 65% of the textile industry.

Although the wealth of the capitalist class has been growing rapidly, the Algerian economy has been in poor shape for a number of years. Unemployment remains a gigantic problem. Algeria's foreign debt is now \$14.7 billion.

An estimated 70% of the population lives on the land, but under the first four-year plan only 15% of investment went to agriculture. An "agrarian revolution" to redistribute land to the peasants has been slowed down and par-

tially blocked by the opposition of rural capitalists.

The economic difficulties led to a wave of student and workers struggles in 1977. Dockworkers struck the major ports. This was followed by a national rail strike, two strikes by Algiers transport workers, and other job actions.

Faced with the growing social and economic problems, Boumediene had been trying in recent years to expand the regime's base. A new constitution was promulgated in 1976. A national assembly was elected. Organizations of workers, peasants, veterans, women, and youth were refurbished, and plans were under way to revive the moribund FLN.

The Algerian bourgeoisie, which had been pressuring Boumediene to turn more of the economy over to capitalists, closed ranks behind the president, aiming to make their presence felt in the resurrected FLN.

With Boumediene's death it is likely that bourgeois pressure on and weight within the regime will increase, leading to a process of "Sadatization" in Algeria. Sadat dismantled large parts of the state capitalist apparatus built by Nasser in Egypt, turning much of the economy directly over to the bourgeoisie.

The Council of the Revolution has been avoiding an open power struggle and is likely to try to unite behind a single figure.

We can also expect that the worker and student struggles of the past two years will continue.

This is an appropriate time to call on Boumediene's successors to release Ahmed Ben Bella, who has been held without charge or trial since the 1965 coup.

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Stalinists 'discover' Iraq regime isn't 'progressive'

By David Frankel

Readers of the *Daily World*, the newspaper of the American Communist Party, were informed January 5 that "Iraq cannot pretend any longer to be a 'progressive' country."

Tom Foley, who wrote the *Daily World* article, described the victimization of Iraqi Communists, including the use of torture and executions by the regime. "The allegedly 'progressive' regime in Iraq is getting away with murder," Foley declared.

All this may come as a shock to readers of the *Daily World*. For the past decade the Iraqi government has been warmly supported by both the Kremlin and by Moscow's followers here in the United States.

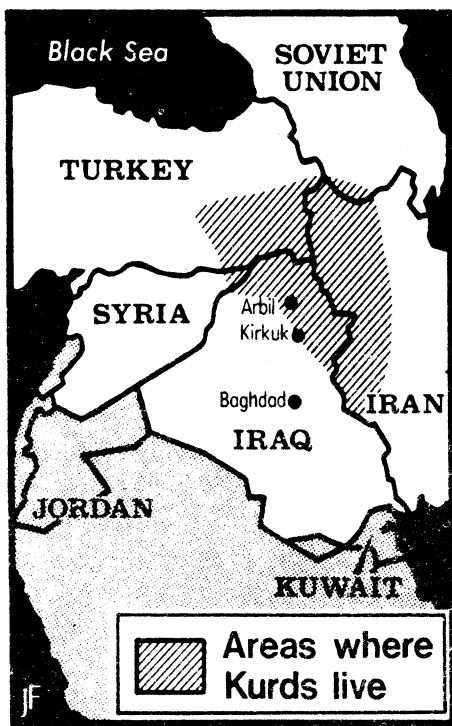
In fact, Foley himself wrote in the March 21, 1975, *Daily World* that "Iraq in the past five years has followed an ever-deepening left course in politics and has vigorously carried out a series of socio-economic reforms, such as land reform, which have transformed the country."

More important to the Stalinists was that "in April, 1972, Iraq signed a 15-year treaty with the Soviet Union. In May, 1972, two Communists were brought into the Iraqi cabinet. . . ."

In return for such considerations, Moscow supported the Iraqi regime in its war against the Kurds. The oppressed Kurdish people in Iraq, numbering about one-quarter of the population, had carried out a long and bitter struggle for self-determination. The Soviet regime had originally supported the Kurds but turned on them after its relations with Baghdad improved following a coup in 1968.

William Pomeroy wrote in the March 19, 1975, *Daily World* that the defeat of the Kurds would represent "the doom of right-wing hopes of destroying the progressive Iraqi government, its unity arrangements with the Communist party of Iraq, its close relations with the Soviet Union, and its nationalist role in the Middle East."

Despite such assurances and despite the left-wing posturing of the Iraqi regime, the crushing of the Kurds—accomplished in the first place with the aid of the shah of Iran—set the



Christian Science Monitor

stage for a shift to the right by the Ba'athist government.

Foley admits that the persecution of Iraqi Communists has been going on for a year and a half now, although this is the first time that it has been mentioned in the *Daily World*. Last May, twenty-one Iraqi soldiers accused of membership in Communist cells were executed without the Stalinists bothering to take note of the event.

Now, however, Moscow has decided to shift gears. After waiting all this time, Foley vows that the CP "will expose the terror in Iraq."

This is a welcome development, albeit somewhat late for the Kurdish and Iraqi masses who have suffered under the Ba'athist dictatorship for the past decade.

Relations between Baghdad and Moscow have been troubled by a number of issues. The two regimes have been on opposite sides in the war in Eritrea. Also, the Kremlin favors recognition of Israel, while the Iraqi Ba'athists oppose it. Last summer conflict between forces in the Palestinian liberation movement supported by Baghdad and Moscow erupted in a series of assassinations and gun battles.

But probably the most important point of friction has been the advance of revolutionary struggles in Ethiopia and Iran. The upsurge in Iran, with its large Kurdish minority, is especially threatening to the Iraqi regime.

Having consolidated its rule with help from Moscow, the Iraqi regime is moving more and more in the direction taken earlier by Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat. It has increased its economic ties to the imperialist countries while cutting back on those with the Soviet bloc, and it has also begun to turn to France for arms.

Iraqi relations with the Saudi Arabian regime have warmed up considerably. "We don't want to bring about any changes in the Saudi government," one Iraqi official recently assured *Washington Post* correspondent J.P. Smith.

Once again, Moscow's policy of support to "progressive" capitalist regimes has backfired. Thanks to the Stalinist policy in Iraq, the Kurdish people, the Iraqi masses, and the Soviet Union itself have all lost ground. Imperialism—as Foley is forced to admit—has been the only winner.



Kurdish refugees. Stalinists backed Iraqi government's war against struggle of Kurds for self-determination.

World news notes

W. German steel strike settled

Steelworkers approved by a narrow margin an agreement to end the first steel strike in West Germany in fifty years.

Forty-six percent of the 140,000 voting steelworkers voted against accepting the contract.

The pact, which covers 208,000 steelworkers in the Ruhr, provides for a 4 percent wage increase over the next fifteen months, a minimum six weeks' vacation by 1982, and extra days off for about half the membership.

Steelworkers had been demanding a thirty-five-hour workweek as a step to ease unemployment in the industry. The employers, however, were adamant in opposing any official reduction in hours from the present forty-hour week, fearful that such a settlement would set a precedent for other workers.

The strike lasted a month and a half and involved 100,000 workers, 30,000 of whom were locked out by the employers.

The steel strike has shattered the hopes of the German ruling class that their country will be exempt from the class battles on the rise throughout Europe. The Institute of the German Economy said January 11 that labor disputes cost the country 5.8 million workdays in 1978—the most since World War II.

Jamaicans protest fuel price hike

Prime Minister Michael Manley—who claims to be leading Jamaica to socialism—mobilized troops and banned public meetings throughout the island on January 11 in an effort to end three days of protests against an abrupt increase in the price of gasoline and other petroleum products.

The wave of strikes and demonstrations began January 8 as protesters took to the streets in Kingston, the capital, chanting, "The poor can't take no more!"

By January 10, schools, banks, and businesses were closing down, and telephone service was slowed. The Associated Press reported from Kingston that "all economic activity in the country was grinding to a halt." Workers at the bauxite mines—a key sector of the Jamaican economy—walked off their jobs to join the protests, as did light and power workers in Kingston.

At least three persons were killed by police during the protests. Three cops were also reportedly killed when a Kingston police station was attacked.

Polish gov't releases French socialist

Polish authorities released French socialist reporter Philippe Ries December 23 and permitted him to leave the country.

Ries is a reporter for the *Informations Ouvrières*, weekly paper of the Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI). He was arrested December 6 after a stay in Poland during which he interviewed several well-known members of the Polish dissident movement.

Police used Ries's arrest as an excuse to search the homes of leading oppositionists.

A broad campaign of protest was launched in France as soon as the arrest became known. Many trade unions, including the National Union of Journalists, sent delegations to the Polish embassy. Ninety reporters and employees of *Le Monde* issued statements of protest.

Members of the French Communist Party also protested the arrest.

The campaign culminated in a demonstration of 2,000 December 14 outside the Polish embassy in Paris.

British rail strike

British rail workers have joined striking truck drivers in walkouts that are crippling the country's economy. Employers are threatening to lay off more than 2 million workers if the strikes continue; auto and tire plants are already shutting down.

At issue is the Labour Party government's 5 percent wage guidelines. The Transport and General Workers Union—which officially sanctioned the truckers' week-long wildcat January 11—is demanding a 25 percent wage increase for its members. Rail engineers and firemen, staging two day-long strikes January 16 and 18, are seeking a 10 percent bonus in addition to wage increases.

Prime Minister James Callaghan has responded to the unions' challenge by setting up regional committees, staffed with strikebreaking "troubleshooters."

In Northern Ireland, the occupying British Army has been ordered to scab on a gas-haulers' strike. The British Conservative Party has called for the same "emergency" measures at home.

—Peter Archer

'Proud to take a stand'

Shipyard designers' strike in 22nd month

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Rita McClenney was the first shipyard worker I met here. She was hard to miss.

A freezing rain was falling, and there was hardly a soul in sight inside the yard. But, umbrellas in hand, McClenney and a co-worker maintained their picket outside the company guardhouse at the Forty-second Street gate.

They both belong to United Steelworkers Local 8417, which is composed of 1,200 marine designers and aides. Three years ago the designers split from the company union, the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, and joined the USWA. They have been on strike for twenty-two months to win their first union contract.

Some 300 designers remained at their jobs. With the recruitment of additional scabs, the shipyard has been able to keep its design department open and profitable.

Many of Rita McClenney's friends drifted back to work or moved away. Like most strikers, she had to find another job to support her family. But Rita is not demoralized. Far from it.

"I'm so proud I could bust," she told me. "I've stuck it out for two years. I've made my stand." Her story—and the stories of the other strikers I talked to—show they have good reason to take pride in the hard fight they have waged.

Rita McClenney is Black, divorced, and supports four daughters. She worked as a designer's aide for six years before going out on strike in March, 1977. She earned all of \$3.97 an hour.

The average wage for designers in the yard is \$6.79, little more than half what comparable jobs in unionized shipyards pay. There have been no wage increases since 1966. The last company wage offer, according to Local 8417 President Lee Johnson, averages only 1.67 percent for each of the five years covered.

To add insult to injury, the shipyard is demanding that workers give back their week-long paid vacation in exchange for this pitiful raise. "My grandfathers fought for paid vacation time and now they're even taking that away," a striker fumed. "I want to win



Marine designer, a member of United Steelworkers Local 8417, pickets outside Newport News shipyard. 'We're waiting for Local 8888 to join us so we can shut the yard down,' one striker said.

this contract and then stick it in their ear."

"Some of the most militant strikers are the old-timers because the company is trying to reduce their pensions," McClenney explained.

For striker Ernie Surles, the biggest problem is "environmental"—a "company-induced environment of harassment and intimidation."

"Working in that office was like working in a war room," he said.

A few blocks away, at Local 8417 headquarters, pickets warmed up with coffee—and with more horror stories about the company and PSA.

When Tenneco took over, the PSA started to trade away everything we had left, local president Lee Johnson said. "The company gives you something and you give them something back. That's how the PSA operated."

How did the PSA manage to pull this sellout off? Johnson provided an example from 1970 when the company union agreed to eliminate the designers' twenty-minute paid lunch break.

"They had to schedule three votes to get this through," he said. "On the third vote it was impossible to figure

out how to cast a 'no' vote. Designers are supposed to be able to figure things out, but we passed the voting instructions around and no one could tell what to do."

Moreover, the PSA had the shipyard and its business allies behind it. "A 'Concerned Citizens' outfit surfaced when the USWA started organizing," Johnson said. "The same group has emerged during every previous fight against unionization." Headed up by the shipyard's lawyer, its real estate agent, and its insurance agent, "Concerned Citizens" spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on ads and broadcasts against the USWA. Contributors to and membership of this anti-union front remain anonymous.

"We have a scab-based 'Concerned Designers' group too that spends much more than designers make trying to decertify our union. We have a good idea just where its money comes from," Johnson added.

In the meantime, the shipyard claims it can't afford to pay the designers a decent wage. "But scabs are making more than we ever did—\$11-\$13 dollars an hour with an extra \$84 dollars a week in living expenses,"

said Johnson. "With overtime they sometimes get \$16.50 to \$19.50 an hour."

The company's July 1978 contract offer, which the strikers unanimously rejected, provided an additional back-pay bonus for these scabs. And it included as a "management right" the authority to fire or discipline strikers for misconduct or harassing scabs during the strike. The proposal also included the PSA's standard no-strike clause.

The shipyard has been trying to keep its two USWA locals divided—to no avail.

"They say they're willing to bargain with us but not with Local 8888," Johnson said. "But they declare in advance that they refuse to make any further concessions to us. You can hardly call that negotiations."

The two union locals plan to bargain together. "We were the stepping stone for the steelworkers in organizing the yard," Rita McClenney said. "We needed the power of a strong national union. Now we're waiting for Local 8888 to come out and join us. We can win on their coattails because together we can shut the shipyard down. This company is sitting on a powderkeg."

...Newport News organizing battle

Continued from back page

violations all day," Wayne Turner, one of the union's inside organizers, said. "This past Thanksgiving, two workers were killed. One had worked in the yard for thirty-four years and was about to retire. They were welding on a wood platform suspended from a crane, and the ropes broke. There was

shipyards. Now it demands a warrant before it will allow safety inspectors on its property.

Tenneco has also been the object of many lawsuits protesting racial and sexual discrimination. The most recent, filed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in August 1978, cites discrimination in employ-

ment, transfers, assignments, promotions, layoffs, and job classification.

Tenneco is particularly jittery about the union's success in forging unity between Blacks and whites, men and women. The first members of the organizing committee to be fired were four women. The men won't go to bat for them, the company undoubtedly assumed.

"But we forced the shipyard to rehire them immediately with lost pay," Hower recounted. "And after that, more women joined the committee. We always had a good cross-section of the work force."

The company struck again by charging the union with an "improper racial appeal" in its election campaign. The presence of two Black speakers at a USWA rally—Rev. Littleton Price, an aide to Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., and U.S. Rep. Harold Ford of Tennessee—was the source of this accusation.

Solidarity

As the USWA and Tenneco square off for their coming battle, speculation is rife about the yard's ability to withstand a prolonged strike.

There are no immediate deliveries of navy or commercial ships pending. But short-term repair work—a growing source of shipyard profits—is more vulnerable to a work stoppage. And lucrative navy contracts, such as the \$500 million overhaul of the carrier U.S.S. *Saratoga*, could be lost to competitors.

Everyone in Newport News remembers the last shipyard strike, in 1967. For a week cops and state troopers battled thousands of shipyard workers along Washington Avenue. Virginia's Governor Dalton has already threatened to call in state police once again for strikebreaking duty.

But while the bosses and their politicians line up behind Tenneco, the labor movement is rallying to the USWA's side. "Five million dollars is already

pledged in strike donations," Hower told the *Militant*.

"The first thing unionists can do is refuse to cross our picket lines." Teamsters, who make deliveries to the yard, and members of the Seafarers International Union, who work the tugboats that pull ships to the yard, have pledged to respect the USWA strike.

Locals of the Communications Workers in Newport News and Norfolk have voted to refuse to install or service shipyard phones during the strike. The United Auto Workers, Rubber Workers, and Operating Engineers have also announced plans to back the strike.

Members of the Hampton Roads Black Ministers Alliance, a local coalition of sixty-five religious leaders, are demanding that Tenneco recognize the USWA. The company is "flagrantly denying the will and decision of blue-collar workers," charged the Rev. Henry Maxwell. He added that the churches will provide aid to strikers. Earlier, sections of the BMA had endorsed the PSA in the shipyard elections.

"Everyone's coming over to the winning side now," said one worker. "They know the United Steelworkers are here to stay."

'Everyone's coming over to the winning side. The Steelworkers are here to stay.'

no excuse for it. The company used knotty wood and ropes [instead of chains] in deliberate violation of OSHA standards."

When OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) inspectors arrived, Turner added, "workers were warned they would be fired if they talked to them." The company was fined \$1,400—\$700 a life.

Since OSHA was established in 1971, the shipyard has been challenging its minimal standards and seeking to evade its pitiful fines. Until recently, the company denied admittance to inspectors it deemed "biased"—meaning those who had worked in

ment, transfers, assignments, promotions, layoffs, and job classification.

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Protectionism not the answer

Crisis in the U.S. shipbuilding industry

By Scott Ware

The American shipbuilding industry is in crisis. Orders for new ships, on the decline since 1975, have dwindled to almost nothing in the past two years. The American Council of Shipbuilders has estimated that by 1980, 45,000 shipyard workers, more than 25 percent of the present work force, will lose their jobs as a result of this slump.

The leaders of my union, the United Industrial Workers, an affiliate of the Seafarers International Union (SIU), insist that the major cause of the problem is "unfair" foreign competition.

"Without governmental subsidies," a *UIW Newsletter* states, "western shipyards just can't compete with the low-cost production offered by the growing shipbuilding industry of the third world . . . partly because these countries pay their shipyard workers exceptionally low wages. . . ."

The way to counter this "threat," they say, is to back up the bosses' demands for more subsidies and more protective legislation from Congress.

There is scarcely a union leadership in the country more committed to protectionism than that of the UIW and SIU. Paul Hall, SIU's president, regularly denounces free trade in general as "outdated and unrealistic." The union leadership is pushing half a dozen protectionist bills demanding that American shipyard owners get a guaranteed slice of everything from the oil trade to ocean mining to offshore oil rigs to liquid natural gas tankers.

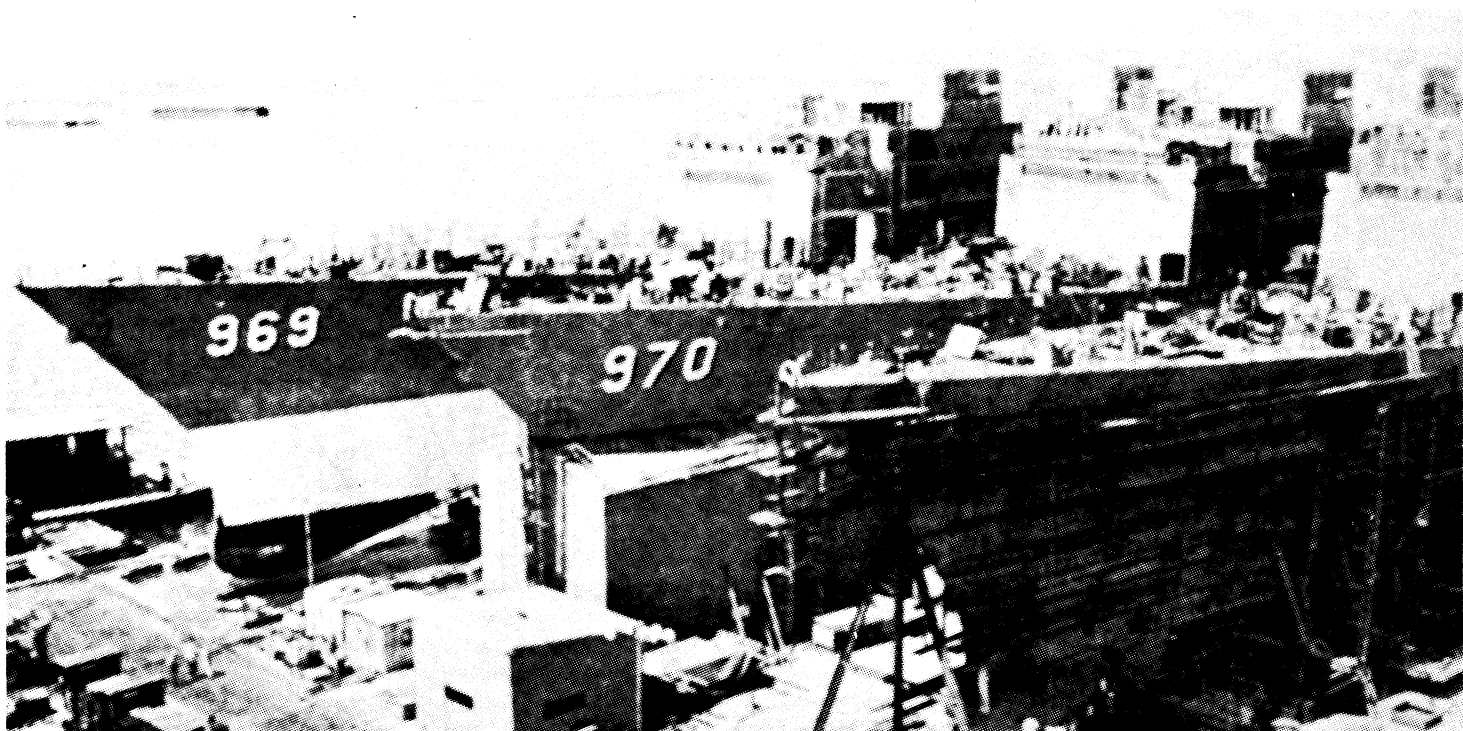
Protectionism, they say, is the way to protect American jobs at American wages.

Nothing could be further from the truth. First, if the problem really were low wages in colonial and semicolonial countries, we should be supporting those shipyard workers in their struggle for decent wages and conditions, not fighting for guaranteed profits for our bosses.

But this isn't the problem. The major shipbuilding centers are all European or Japanese, and American companies can't compete with them because American shipyards are the most inefficient in the world.

This appalling inefficiency can be traced directly to the enormous protection the industry already receives.

The federal government subsidizes a full 50 percent of the construction costs of a ship, and on top of that it guarantees full repayment of all construction loans. American lines can therefore buy a ship for no money down with



Despite fat U.S. Navy war contracts and huge profits, shipyard owners demand larger government subsidies and more protection from foreign competition.

twenty-four years to pay.

In addition, the government requires that all domestic commerce take place on American vessels and provides operational subsidies to American-built ships in foreign trade. It also sets shipping rates to make sure that shipping lines can't narrow their profit margins by actually competing with each other.

'War business' profits

Finally, the U.S. Navy squanders billions on building warships to protect U.S. corporate profits overseas. Domestic shipyards reap a bonanza off this "war business" alone.

Under little competitive threat, the industry has invested as little of its profits as possible in new technologies and techniques. Even with the existing technique, most shipyard managements are inefficient to the point of bungling when it comes to actually organizing production.

Workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard (Seatrains Shipbuilding Corporation) are continually amazed that ships get built at all, given the endless obstacles management throws in our path.

Seeing the effects that existing protective legislation has already had on the industry, *more* protection is hardly the answer. The companies would simply increase their profits by raising their prices, while the rest of us would see both our taxes and the cost of living go up. Off the hook again, the bosses would still have no motivation to invest in new methods or make their operations more efficient.

On top of that, all these government-guaranteed profits for the owners still won't guarantee jobs for shipyard workers. At Seatrain they laid off 300 workers last year, despite the fact that the company had more work than it could handle.

But the final thing wrong with the UIW-SIU's solution to our jobs crisis is that it does not address the real problem. American shipyards are in trouble because there is a world wide overproduction crisis in the shipbuilding industry.

The end of the postwar economic boom brought with it a slump in the world trade that has left idle more than 100 million tons of oil-tanker capacity alone. The increased competition among shipyards is simply a result of the fact that there are already too many ships for the state of world trade.

Moreover, Paul Hall should keep in mind that one of the reasons the state of trade is so bad is that more and more foreign capitalists are agreeing with him that free trade is "outdated and unrealistic" and are turning toward protectionism. The more protective barriers go up, the more international trade stagnates, the less ships are needed, and the greater becomes the crisis in shipbuilding.

The real solution to the crisis lies elsewhere. We shouldn't begin by demanding that the government guarantee yet more profits for the owners; we should demand that the government throw out the owners altogether and nationalize the shipyards.

The workers themselves should begin to take control of production. Anyone who doubts our "untried" ability to run things smoothly simply doesn't realize how bad our current management is; even a few weeks.

Workers' control

Nationalized shipyards under workers' control would quickly be capable of producing ships at far less than the present cost and provide higher wages and safer conditions for shipyard workers as well.

When capitalists make technological improvements, they make workers pay for it by throwing them out of jobs. Under nationalization, the workers would benefit by establishing shorter hours.

Under private management, the first to go in a "crisis of demand" are the workers.

This is crazy. A shipyard by itself is little more than a few holes in the ground and some welding and burning equipment. The real "assets" of shipbuilding are the thousands of skilled workers working together as a team. Dispersing such groups of workers because no one needs another oil tanker at the moment is the height of folly.

A nationalized yard would reconvert its buildings and equipment to produce things that *were* needed. Whether we look at schools, hospitals, mass transit, or housing, the neglected needs of working people in this country are enormous. Skilled shipyard workers could make a big contribution toward meeting these needs.

Scott Ware was until recently a shipfitter at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Florida farm workers win major victory

By Jack Lieberman

HOMESTEAD, Fla.—More than 9,000 Chicano and *mexicano* tomato pickers won a major victory for farm workers here in December.

The tomato pickers went on strike from December 7-16, forcing the growers to significantly raise their wages.

During the previous year, growers paid farm workers thirty cents a bucket at the beginning of the season, but raised the rates to between forty and forty-five cents to increase worker productivity at the end of the season. This fall, however, growers refused to pay more than thirty cents.

Not only are the farm workers in this area unorganized, but they are not covered by minimum wage laws. They also suffer chronic unemployment, putting

their average annual income at \$2,100 to \$2,200.

The strike was organized by the United Migrants Association (UMA) of Florida, a statewide farm worker rights group. The central demand of the strikers was forty-five cents a bucket of tomatoes.

Fundamental to the strike was the right of farm workers to organize for better working conditions. The growers and the government realized this and immediately tried to break the strike. The growers initially refused to negotiate with the strikers. They branded UMA leader Benito López a "communist."

In an attempt to victimize and intimidate strikers, López and three other strike leaders were arrested for violating Florida's "right to work" law after

leading a peaceful roving picket of more than 1,200 strikers. On December 9, armed Klu Klux Klansmen held a cross-burning near the two largest migrant camps. Several times during the strike, strikers were threatened by gun thugs hired by the growers.

These tactics failed to halt the picketing. Solidarity with the strikers grew. The United Farm Workers union and several Miami union locals and church organizations came out in support of the strike.

As a result, the growers were forced into negotiations. Their first offer—thirty-five cents a bucket—was rejected. Seven of the twenty-eight growers then agreed to pay the forty-five cents a bucket demanded by the strikers. This offer was vetoed by the powerful tomato growers association.

Finally, on December 15, the growers agreed to pay the workers forty cents a bucket. This represented a 33 percent increase over the current rate and was accepted by the strikers as a substantial victory.

The struggle is not over. On the night of December 16, after announcing the strike victory at a widely publicized news conference, López was jumped by a gang of thugs and beaten.

The growers would like to drive López and the UMA out of the fields. While forced to make some concessions, the growers still hope to prevent farm workers from winning union rights.

The UMA strike committees formed during the strike are continuing to function to protect the gains won and prepare for future struggles.

Quote unquote

"We really don't run a health spa."

—Eldon Knappe, manager of American Cyanamid's Bound Brook, New Jersey, plant, where 1,300 strikers are demanding improvements in workplace health and safety.

FUNDS RAN OUT FASTER THAN THE CHEMICALS

Thousands of barrels have already been found, and thousands more are thought to be still buried, but the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency is ending its hunt for toxic chemicals along the Ohio River near Louisville, even though the EPA admits much of the stuff can cause cancer.

The reason? The EPA got \$100,000 for the search and cleanup mission—"and that's about used up," EPA spokesperson Richard Griggs January 14.

BLIND JUSTICE

Convicted of smuggling three tons of marijuana into the country, former Dallas County, Alabama, sheriff Jim Clark was sentenced last month to two years in federal prison. Clark gained international notoriety in the 1960s for his violent assaults on civil rights marchers in Birmingham.

Clark's sentence contrasts

sharply with other penalties handed out in connection with marijuana—especially where the victim was known as an opponent of government policies.

Ramsey Muñiz, former gubernatorial candidate of the Texas Raza Unida Party, got ten years in federal prison for conspiring to smuggle marijuana into the country—he wasn't even accused of actually

smuggling.

And then there's the case of Texas Black activist Lee Otis Johnson, who got thirty years after a marijuana possession frame-up.

BOARD DROPS RACIST HEALTH CUTS

Faced with angry opposition from the entire Chicano and Mexican community, the Los Angeles County Board of Su-

pervisors agreed January 9 to continue free medical services for all at county hospitals, regardless of citizenship. More than 500 people turned out for the board meeting.

County officials claim free medical care for undocumented workers is "illegal."

ATOM WASTE PLAN HIT

Several hundred area residents bitterly opposed making the West Valley, New York, site of a nuclear reprocessing plant into a permanent atomic waste disposal site at hearings in Buffalo January 13. "We will fight with every means open to us," said Carol Mongerson of the Coalition on West Valley Nuclear Wastes.

Opened in 1966 and operated by a subsidiary of Getty Oil, West Valley failed to show a profit and was abandoned by its owners. They left behind 600,000 gallons of highly radioactive wastes and \$4 million to clean it up. The final cleanup bill could reach \$600 million.

Meanwhile, numerous leaks have allowed the deadly materials to escape. Some radioactivity has been traced into Buffalo's drinking water supply.

The site is also near an active earthquake fault. Asked if an earthquake could damage

any of the buildings at the dump, a Department of Energy official said, "It would depend on the severity of the earthquake."

PERJURY CONVICTION FOR STATE SENATOR

New Mexico State Senator Emilio Naranjo, Democratic Party boss and former sheriff of Rio Arriba County, was convicted on perjury charges January 11. Naranjo lied under oath during the 1976 trial of Moises Morales, the Raza Unida Party candidate running against him in the sheriff's contest.

Morales was acquitted of drug possession charges. He accused Naranjo's deputies of planting the marijuana they "found." At the trial, Naranjo swore he saw his deputy take the marijuana from Morales's pickup truck.

The perjury charge carries a one-to-five year sentence, and Naranjo could also lose his state senate seat.

TEXAS NUKE PROTEST

Antinuclear power protesters from all over the state will converge on the capitol grounds in Austin, Texas, January 21, to demand a law banning nuclear waste dumps. The rally is sponsored by the Lone Star Alliance, a statewide coalition, and local groups in several cities. For more information, call (214) 337-5885, (214) 369-1591, or (817) 923-5635. The protest is set to start at 1:30 p.m.

DOES MACY'S TELL GIMBEL'S?

The presence of legionnaire's disease bacteria on the roof of Macy's department store in midtown Manhattan was confirmed in mid-December. But city officials hushed up the news because "we did not want to cause an unnecessary scare during the middle of the Christmas shopping season," Dr. John Marr, head of the city's Bureau of Preventable Diseases, declared.

To that end, Marr kept the news secret from an expert advisory commission on the disease, which had been set up last summer during an outbreak that killed three people.

However, Marr did tell Peter Jay Solomon, Deputy Mayor for Economic Development, who advised Marr to be "sensitive" to the economic consequences of the news.

Arizona ERA march



Militant/Bill Natkin

Chanting "What do we want? ERA! When do we want it? Now!" 350 people rallied at the Arizona State capitol in Phoenix January 8 to demand state ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Participating were League of Women Voters, Women's Political Caucus, National Organization for Women, Socialist Workers Party, YWCA, unionists, and students.

Seven charter buses made the 100-mile drive from Tucson for the march.

Atlanta protest greets Carter

By Don Davis and Linda Millwood

ATLANTA—Hundreds of demonstrators demanding jobs protested against President Carter outside the Ebenezer Baptist Church here January 14.

Inside, Carter was being awarded the Martin Luther King, Jr., Non-violent Peace Prize by Coretta Scott King.

More than 400 joined a march led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and supported by the local NAACP to demand action by Carter to provide money for jobs.

More than 200 Iranian students outside the church

burned Carter in effigy and chanted, "U.S. out of Iran," "Down with the Shah," and "Down with Bakhtiar," the shah's handpicked successor.

A smaller group demanded freedom for six Reidsville State Prison inmates who could be sentenced to death under a death-penalty law signed by Carter while he was governor of Georgia.

Speaking to the protesters, Black activist Dick Gregory said, "If anyone doesn't understand the power of people, check out what's going on in Iran."

The following day—the

fiftieth anniversary of King's birth—the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Social Change sponsored a demonstration. Three thousand marched to demand that King's birthday be made a state holiday; that the Equal Rights Amendment be ratified; and that residents of the District of Columbia have the right to elect their own government.

Contingents from the Atlanta Association of Educators, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the AFL-CIO, and the National Organization for Women participated.

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

CUBA TODAY: A slide show followed by discussion. Speaker: Mike Morrissey, recent visitor to Cuba. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

CUBA & THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Pedro Vázquez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board, 5th District; Michael Mora, Native American Movement. Sat., Jan. 27, 8 p.m. 3660 Wilshire Blvd. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

SAN FRANCISCO

OUR BODIES, OUR LIVES, OUR RIGHT TO DECIDE. Speakers: Sandra Salazar, chairwoman, California State National Organization for Women Task

Force on Reproduction Rights; others. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA MIAMI

REVOLUTIONARY CUBA TODAY. An eyewitness account, including slide show, of the twentieth anniversary celebrations. Speakers: Jack Lieberman and Marilyn Markus, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

CHICAGO: THE CITY THAT WORKS? Hear the socialist alternative to the Democratic Party. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, member of United Steelworkers Local 1066, Socialist Workers Party candidate

for mayor of Chicago; Fred Halstead, leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement, 1968 SWP presidential candidate; Thabo Ntweng, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, member of United Auto Workers Local 217. Sat., Feb. 3, 7 p.m. Shoeworkers Hall, 1632 N. Milwaukee. Donation: \$2. Aup: Socialist Workers Mayoral Campaign. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 1972 DERRY MASSACRE: A PUBLIC FORUM—TEN YEARS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE: WHAT HAS THE IRISH MOVEMENT ACCOMPLISHED? Speaker: Richard Cahalane, recently returned from a tour of Ireland, member of the Socialist Workers Party; others. Also slide show. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA MESABI IRON RANGE

THE STRUGGLE OF AMERICAN INDIANS FOR THEIR RIGHTS. Speaker: Vernon Bellecourt, leader of the American Indian Movement. Fri., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. Unitarian Church, 7th St. South & 3rd Ave. Virginia, Minn. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

HOW THE TRADE UNIONS WERE BUILT. Speaker: Harry DeBoer, participant in the historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike. Fri., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. Carpenter's Hall, 307 1st St. N., Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Iron Range Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

NORTH CAROLINA RALEIGH

CUBA: TWENTY YEARS OF REVOLUTION. Speakers: Dr. Charles Bergquist, Latin American History Department at

Duke University; Socialist Workers Party representative who has visited Cuba. Tues., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. Duke Student Union Room 101. Wed., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of North Carolina Student Union Room 215. Donation: \$1. Aup: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (919) 833-9440.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

MILITANT ANNIVERSARY EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. Socialism and Individual Freedom. Speaker: Harry Ring, former editor of the "Militant." 8 p.m.; Sat., Jan. 27, noon: Radical Politics and U.S. Labor: a Discussion of Stalinism & Trotskyism, Class 1; 2 p.m., Class 2; 7 p.m. Militant Anniversary Rally. Speakers: Harry Ring; Liz Jayko, SWP candidate for governor of Kentucky; others. 10 p.m., party. Sun., Jan. 28, noon, Class 3. All sessions at 970 E. McMillan (Peebles Corner). Donation: \$1 per session; \$1.50 for reception and rally. Aup: SWP & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (513) 751-2636.



AFL-CIO TO HONOR ERA BOYCOTT

The AFL-CIO, which supports the Equal Rights Amendment, has moved its 1979 national convention out of Miami Beach because of Florida's failure to ratify the ERA. The National Organization for Women has called on all ERA supporters to boycott nonratified states when seeking convention sites.

According to federation representative Al Zack, the November 1979 convention will be held in Washington, D.C. AFL-CIO conventions usually bring about 3,000 people to a city.

TWENTY-NINE FREED IN ROCKY FLATS TRIALS

Charges have been dropped against twenty-nine people arrested last spring at the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant. A total of sixty-two people had been arrested. Thirty-one have been convicted of trespassing and sentenced to six months of unsupervised probation. Two trials remain to be held. All sentences have been stayed pending appeal.

CIA LINK TO LETELIER MURDER

Michael Townley, who has pleaded guilty to conspiracy in the 1976 bombing murder of former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier, may have worked for the CIA. The

agency admitted January 10 it had given Michael Townley a preliminary security clearance in 1971 preparatory to using him as an agent. But the CIA claims to have dropped the idea ten months later. The CIA also declared it had never used Townley's services.

Meanwhile, three anti-Castro Cubans on trial for the bombing claimed Townley set it up on CIA orders.

Letelier and an associate, Ronni Moffit, were killed September 21, 1976, when the car in which they were driving was demolished by a remote control bomb.

A snail's paced investigation has revealed links not only to the CIA but the highest levels of the current Chilean government.

PROTEST ANTINUKE CONVICTIONS

A demonstration to protest the conviction of eleven antinuclear activists in Washington, D.C., will take place February 12, the day of their sentencing. The eleven were arrested after they unfurled a banner on the White House lawn calling for a nuclear-free world.

A noon rally in Lafayette Park, opposite the White House, is scheduled. Charter buses from New York City are available.

For more information, call (212) 228-0450.

The march of civilization—"It is an unwritten code of behavior that the CIA and the [Soviet] KGB do not murder each other's operatives—except under the most extraordinary circumstances."—the *New York Times*.

Cozy—Concerned that the tobacco industry had to shell out \$5 million to defeat the public-smoking restriction referendum in California? Not to worry. The money was funneled through the Tobacco Institute, which is chartered as a nonprofit trade association. Members write off 50 percent of dues in taxes. Says institute President Horace Korngay: "The government is the biggest partner in the tobacco industry today."

They're worried?—"WASHINGTON (AP)—Consumers borrowed money at nearly record levels in November as they used credit cards instead of cash for pre-Christmas purchases. . . . Some economists are afraid that consumers are overextending themselves as they borrow to try to beat inflation and they will not be able to pay the money back if a recession hits."

Most likely story of the week—A spokesman for Standard of Indiana said the recent OPEC increase in the price of crude oil would soon be reflected at your local pump. However, he added, "We won't make any money off of this."

It figures—Warehouse stocks of hamburger grade beef totaled 300 million pounds December 1, triple the inventory of a year ago. But the president of the American Meat Institute anticipates that the price of hamburger will spiral another 40 to 50 percent in 1979.

Marvels of free enterprise—A South Carolina farmer is selling tie tacks, lapel pins, and such, featuring small plastic molds stuffed with cured quail droppings. He says a local computer estimates that at his selling price of \$10 each, the gross should be \$176 million per ton.

Enough already!—We've survived all the shortages and price hikes up to this point, but now we learn that due to a drought in France last summer the price of truffles will double, from twelve dollars an ounce to twenty-four dollars.

Union Talk

This week's column is by Geoff Mirelowitz, a member of United Steelworkers Local 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant.

BALTIMORE—A new subway is under construction here using steel imported from South Africa. This came to the attention of several organizations opposed to South African apartheid, and two successful informational picket lines have been organized in protest.

Unionists have discussed different approaches to this issue in United Steelworkers locals 2609 and 2610 and in the Baltimore Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism (BCAAR), the organizer of the protests.

The international USWA leadership mistakenly supports the position of the steel company bosses, opposing imports of foreign steel from any country. They put the blame for loss of jobs here on steelworkers in other countries, instead of fighting against the real cause of plant shutdowns and layoffs—the profit and productivity drive of the American steel industry.

Local 2610 officials echoed this position. They proposed that the local endorse the picket line against South African steel on the basis of reaffirming the union's official stand against all imports.

This position received support from a somewhat unexpected source—members of the Maoist group Workers Viewpoint.

At a meeting of the BCAAR, a proposal was made to broaden the coalition demands beyond opposing South African steel to include opposition to all U.S. ties and support to the apartheid regime.

Members of Workers Viewpoint opposed this. They argued that the unions could not be involved in action if the demands went beyond opposing South African steel. After all, they argued, American workers have an "objective interest" in opposing foreign steel imports because we lose our jobs as a result.

This is wrong on every count. In the fight for jobs, our enemy is at home—the U.S. steel profiteers. American workers have no interest in strengthening the U.S. steel monopoly's position against its foreign competitors, which is what the anti-import crusade is all about.

American workers do have a big stake in fighting to cut off all U.S. support—including investment and trade—with South Africa.

Why? Because that is the best aid we can give to the freedom struggle of the Black majority there. When the Black workers of South Africa topple the racist, white minority regime, they will be dealing a tremendous blow against U.S. corporate might. And that helps the struggles of workers back home in the United States.

Perhaps the members of Workers Viewpoint are confusing what some union officials are willing to support with what many steelworkers are willing to support.

Many of our co-workers, especially Blacks, are more concerned with the apartheid system that is oppressing Blacks in South Africa than they are with the phony "foreign imports" issue. Many are willing to support a movement to end U.S. support to apartheid even if South African steel is not the only issue.

In fact, even many union officials are willing to take a stand against U.S. support to apartheid. Both locals at Sparrows Point voted to support the recent tour of Black South African trade unionist Drake Koka. The president of Local 2610, Joe Kotelchuck, spoke at the meeting welcoming Koka to Baltimore.

Socialists believe that workers all over the world should stand together in the fight against our common enemy. Whether we work at Sparrows Point or in South Africa or in a steel mill in Japan, we face common problems of health, safety, working conditions, and earning decent wages.

We should mobilize the broadest possible opposition to the use of South African steel here in Baltimore, because that is an act of working-class solidarity with our brothers and sisters in South Africa.

That is also the exact opposite of the union bureaucracy's chauvinist campaign against imports, which promotes solidarity with the U.S. bosses against the workers of other lands.

There is an interesting postscript to this story. The year-end Bethlehem Steel review reports on new contracts being signed between Bethlehem and the People's Republic of China. There are even reports that Bethlehem is going to begin importing iron ore from China.

Will Workers Viewpoint, which at last look was a supporter of the Chinese government, oppose such moves because they may "steal" jobs from U.S. iron ore workers? I guess we can only hope not.

Stop Knoetze!

"Fight Racism, stop Knoetze!" was the chant in several cities across the country as anti-apartheid demonstrators protested the appearance of white South African boxer Kallie Knoetze.

Knoetze, a former South African cop, shot and crippled a fifteen-year-old Black youth during Black protests in 1977. He claimed self-defense and was not prosecuted for the crime.

In Miami on January 13, 300 demonstrators representing twelve organizations picketed the gym where the nationally televised Knoetze fight took place. Participants included Operation PUSH, the Miami NAACP, Haitian Refugee

Center, Florida Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Socialist Workers Party, Cuban Democratic Socialists, and others.

Several days earlier, in New York City, thirty people picketed CBS headquarters (see photo). CBS broadcast the fight. The picket was organized by the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS) and the American Committee on Africa (ACOA). Among the groups supporting the action were the African National Congress, Brooklyn Black United Front, Operation PUSH, Young Workers Liberation League, Young Socialist Alliance, and the *Guardian*.



Militant/Osborne Hart

Black lung movement



February 26, 1969, march in Charleston for black lung legislation

Three thousand angry coal miners marched through the streets of Charleston, West Virginia. The miners had come to demand state action on black lung, a crippling respiratory disease caused by breathing coal dust. In West Virginia, the coal industry, aided by compliant doctors, had managed to keep black lung from being recognized as job-related. Victims were thus ineligible for workers compensation.

The date was January 26, 1969.

Deepgoing dissatisfaction with the black lung situation had been growing for years. Tony Boyle, who had inherited the union's reins from John L. Lewis in 1963, was more interested in snuggling up to the coal bosses than in leading a fight to protect the miners. He saw to it that the union did nothing unacceptable to the industry.

But the ranks of the union were the ones dying from black lung, and they wanted action.

The ingredients of a movement had fermented for some time before the 1969 Charleston march. Three coalfield doctors had broken the wall of silence around black lung and had begun holding meetings around West Virginia.

Miners then banded together in the West Virginia Black Lung Association, the goal of which was to get some state legislation to provide compensation for the disease. The movement rapidly spread across the mining districts of the state.

The efforts of the Black Lung Association were bitterly opposed by the Boyle gang, which threatened to expel the activists on the grounds of "dual unionism."

Journalist Brit Hume, in his book *Death and the Mines*, describes the black lung movement at the time of the march on Charleston: "By now the miners had begun to appear with some of the typical accoutrements of a political campaign or movement. Many wore their white hard

hats with skulls and crossbones emblazoned on each side. Others wore large red and black buttons with the numbers '78-4' printed on them. These referred to the seventy-eight men killed at Farmington [a November 1968 mine disaster] and to four who had died in a flooded mine at Hominy Falls, West Virginia, six months earlier.

"An often repeated slogan of the crusade became: 'Seventy-eight, four, how many more?' In addition, there were cut-out cardboard discs with black skull and crossbones and the words 'Stop Black Lung Murder!'"

This still wasn't enough. The miners had to jam legislative hearings, rally again at the state capitol and confront the governor, and finally strike for three weeks until they won. But win they did—over the combined opposition of the coal industry and the UMW bureaucrats.

The miners' victory set the stage for ousting the Boyle machine. Many of the black lung activists signed on with Miners for Democracy, a reform slate that promised action on the safety front and union democracy.

In 1972, MFD candidate Arnold Miller was elected UMW president. The union's health and safety division was dramatically expanded from the one-person unit it had been under Boyle. The miners also won the right to vote on their contracts.

The black lung movement was in many ways the parent for efforts around work-related diseases that followed. The fact that federal and state governments were forced to recognize the victims of black lung and establish benefits programs still has this country's rulers worried.

After all, if coal miners could win such a concession, what of the millions of other workers who are beginning to speak up about the hazards they face on the job?

—Arnold Weissberg

Tribute to a fighter

We have just received news that Ruth Querio passed away on November 26 (see story on page 17). We were both very saddened to hear of her death. The Socialist Workers Party has lost a wonderful person, and we have lost a friend.

Ruth was one of the people who introduced us to Trotskyism in Pittsburgh. We first got to know her at a meeting called "Meet the Young Socialist Alliance." Ruth was to talk about "What is socialism." The first words out of her mouth were, "I'm so proud that you young people are thinking."

Ruth realized that she wasn't going to see the triumph of the socialist revolution in the United States. She told us, though, that she expected to live to see the Socialist Workers Party a party filled with workers. In this she saw her visions being realized.

The best tribute to Ruth would be to continue building that party of workers.
*Buddy and Susie Beck
Malaga, Spain*

How about printers?

Why has the *Militant's* coverage of the printers and various newspaper unions been so scant?

Certainly they play a somewhat peripheral role in U.S. capitalism's operations. They haven't the weight to shut down the system. But there one has a chance to analyze (and learn from some serious mistakes) an important question—how do unions deal with automation and job loss?

(Most recently there is the case of the *Washington Star*, but this has been going on for years, obviously.)

It's an issue that already has and will more in the future (due to the system's need to automate) affect more basic areas—the longshoremen, the rail workers, and soon parts of agricultural labor.

And the lessons to be drawn of the need for labor solidarity are transparent there, due to the antiquated craft-union structure—an important lesson for all strikes today.

A friend, who's a printer and reads the *Militant*, asked me about this, and I became curious myself.

Thanks.
*Al Campbell
Cambridge, Massachusetts*

Enjoyed YSA convention

I spent two hours at the Pittsburgh Young Socialist Alliance national convention. I really enjoyed it. I have been a socialist all my life. I am now seventy-four years old and was thirty years with the Socialist Party U.S.A. I have been receiving the *Guardian* and *Workers Power* for the past three years.

Yours for socialism and unity.

*Samuel Slyman
New Kensington,
Pennsylvania*

Leaving prison

I am writing you to inform you that I have completed my prison time and am going home. It was really a great pleasure reading your paper. I learned a lot about the struggle of the Third World peoples all over the world. Your paper is very educational and very enlightening.

There is a friend of mine who is going to be here in prison for a while, and knowledge like what your paper contains is what he really needs to set him on the right track, so please address my regular issue to him.

*A prisoner
New York*

Forming opinions

Keep up the great coverage! I hesitate to form an opinion on any new issue until I've seen the *Militant* first.

*A reader
Austin, Texas*

Equal job safety

During a newscast on October 30 I was heartened to hear the following, which confirms what the *Militant* has been saying for quite some time.

The U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled that sex discrimination against male forestry workers is illegal.

According to the newscast, the deadly herbicide dioxin is sprayed routinely on forests throughout Oregon and Washington to control certain undesirable vegetation. Dioxin is known to cause cancer as well as serious birth defects. Women forestry workers of child-bearing age had previously won the right to choose whether or not to work in areas where the deadly poison had been sprayed, but this right was denied to men.

So the men filed suit and the court ruled that they had been discriminated against. The court ruled that from now on, men must also be allowed to decide whether or not to work in dioxin-contaminated areas.

Both the Communist Party as well as right-wing opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment argue that passage of the ERA will result in the elimination of protective legislation for women. However, as the *Militant* has always pointed out, and as the case of the forestry workers proves, it is possible to fight for and win extension of protective legislation for all workers.

*Larry Thomas
Tucson, Arizona*

From an auto worker

Please send me a subscription to your paper. Please also send me a copy of the December 15, 1978, *Militant*, as I am interested in the article on American Motors in Toledo. I work at AMC in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

Thank you.
*An auto worker
Kenosha, Wisconsin*

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Learning About Socialism

Appreciates 'Militant'

I'm a prisoner, and I've been receiving the *Militant* through your Prisoner's Fund for over a year. However, I did not receive the last few issues.

I value the *Militant* greatly, and I miss all the knowledge, information, understanding, etc., that is in the *Militant* each week and would definitely appreciate the continuance of such.

Keep up the good work, and thanks a lot.

A prisoner
Colorado

Socialists on army

I am a female who is a single parent and was so desperate for a job that I joined the army, which I am presently in.

For curiosity's sake I'd like to know what the Socialist Workers Party's views are about the military system. I consider myself a socialist.

I'd like to know how you feel about single parents (another military issue). When I think of socialism I think of people supporting people. I believe in free day care for the worker, providing another with a function. I believe in free education, kindergarten on up. In order to have a country strong and functional, education is important for all. All must be aware and well prepared to meet anything.

A GI
Texas

'Down with shah' demo

Fifteen hundred to 2,000 people marched from San Francisco's civic center to the Iranian consulate December 28 to demand the removal of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and to protest any intervention by the United States in Iran. On December 30, more than 3,000 persons again peaceably demonstrated along the same route to protest against the shah.

These demonstrations were part of the Iranian Students Association U.S.'s twenty-sixth convention, held in Oakland, California, the same week.

One significant flaw marred the march, however. When members of the Socialist Workers Party and salespersons for the Iranian socialist weekly *Payam Daneshjoo* joined the demonstration in support of its demands, several organizers of the demonstration stopped us from selling the *Militant* and *Payam Daneshjoo*. The organizers tried to exclude us from participation in the demonstration, but after other demonstrators protested, we were able to rejoin the action.

Nancy Elnor

San Francisco, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Is the United States a class society?

Why do socialists talk about the working class and the capitalist class? Is the United States really a class society?

The wealthy merchants and planters who played a prominent role in establishing the United States never dreamed it was anything else.

George Washington certainly didn't consider himself to be in the same class with his slaves! And James Madison, writing in the tenth of his *Federalist Papers*, declared that "the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society."

As far as Madison was concerned, government was intended to protect property, and men of property were the natural rulers. This attitude was reflected in the early years of the United States in laws allowing only those who owned a certain amount of property to vote.

But such open class bias was politically expensive. It became necessary for the capitalists to mask the reality of their class rule through cosmetic reforms. Today, teachers at every level of the American educational system are expected to present the mask as the reality.

For a look beneath the mask, there is no better place to start than with Frederick Engels's presentation in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

Engels explained that "... in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged."

The basic source of all wealth is the application of human labor to the raw materials provided by the earth. Different societies are characterized by how they organize the social labor necessary for production, and by how they distribute the resulting wealth.

Under the Roman Empire, labor was organized through the system of slavery. Distribution was controlled by the slave masters who automatically owned everything produced by the slaves.

During the Middle Ages, the feudal system dominated Europe. Production was carried out by the serfs, but the feudal landowners constituted the ruling class and expropriated most of what the serfs produced.

Production in medieval towns was organized mainly through individual family units. Individual artisans bought the necessary raw materials, owned their own tools, produced the finished product, and sold it themselves.

As large workshops and factories began to develop, production more and more became a collective enterprise. But, Engels explains, "The owner of the instruments of labor [the capitalist] always appropriated to himself the

product, although it was no longer *his* product but exclusively the product of the *labor of others*."

This is all the more true today. Under capitalism, the vast majority of people can live only by selling their labor power—that is, working for wages. The collective labor of this army of wage workers produces all the wealth of society—from gold and oil, to cars and toasters.

But the fruit of this social labor goes to the individual capitalists who own the factories, banks, mines, and mills, not to the mass of workers. The workers are paid a wage, which is only a fraction of the value they produce.

Engels concludes: "*The contradiction between socialized production and capitalistic appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie.*"

An indication of the gulf between the ruling class and the rest of us was shown in a 1969 study by the Internal Revenue Service. It found that those with wealth of more than \$5 million (the top 0.008 percent of the population) own as much wealth as the bottom half of all families.

Because of the domination of the capitalist class, all productive activity in the United States is organized for private profit. When private profit conflicts with human needs, human needs are always the loser.

We see the result in our day-to-day lives. Goals such as eliminating pollution, establishing safe working conditions, and assuring adequate health care and decent housing are simply not pursued. They are said to be "too expensive," meaning they would cut into profits.

The capitalists control the Congress, courts, White House, and army. Through their two parties—the Democrats and Republicans—the wealthy exercise a total political monopoly over the decisions that affect our lives.

But the working class has the power to change this. "The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property," Engels wrote.

There is no reason why the millions who produce the wealth of society cannot make the decisions about how that wealth will be used. And only such a social revolution can prevent an increasingly irrational and outmoded capitalist system from eventually destroying the human race.

A society in which there is no division between those who produce the wealth and those who control it—a giant producers cooperative in which resources are allocated by the democratic decision of the workers—would no longer be a class society.

Such a classless society, which would eliminate war, racism, sexism, and poverty, is what socialists are in favor of. Next week, we will discuss why the industrial workers are the main powerhouse that can lead the fight for a socialist society.

—David Frankel

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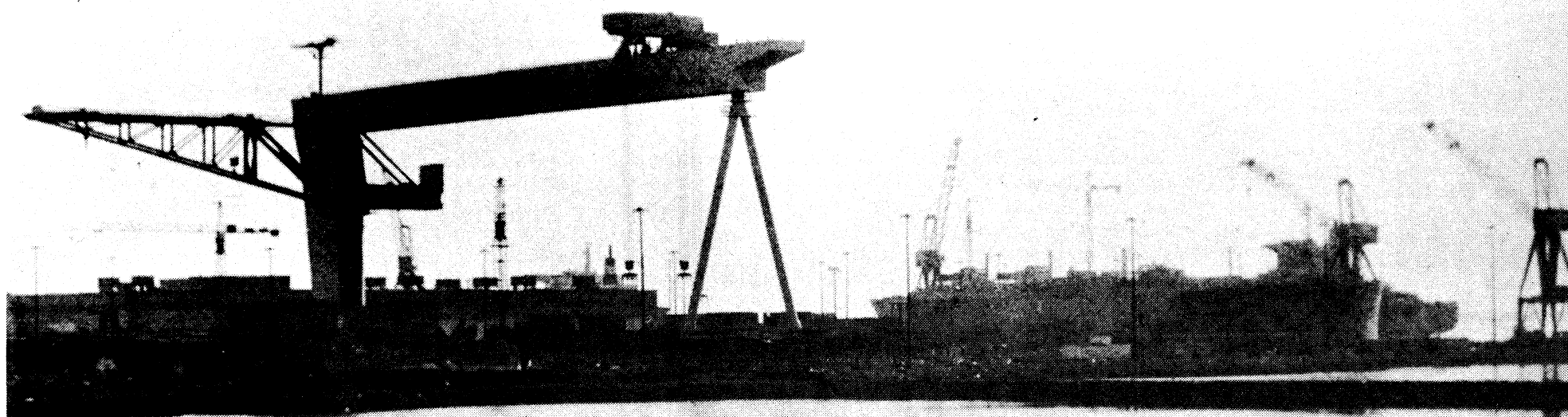
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Battle at Newport News



Steel union vs. open-shop South

Militant/Shelley Kramer

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—A secretary, married to a shipyard welder, makes two lists: which bills to pay and which can wait.

Phones at the union offices never stop ringing. Will my health insurance be cut off? How much are strike benefits? Will we get food stamps?

In the supermarket, shoppers swap recipes for low-cost meals to see their families through a long strike.

Everywhere you go in this city of 150,000 on Virginia's Tidewater peninsula, talk is the same.

When will the Steelworkers strike Newport News Shipbuilding?

Which side are you on?

According to Jack Hower, the United Steelworkers' top organizer here, the city's 17,500 shipyard production and maintenance workers will strike "before the end of January." They are represented by USWA Local 8888, which has been engaged in a year-long struggle for union recognition.

Virulently opposing the union is Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, the country's biggest shipyard, owned by the giant Tenneco conglomerate. It employs about 22 percent of the peninsula's 112,000 private-industry workers.

The shipyard's mammoth cranes and endless rows of clockhouses and work sheds stretch more than twenty city blocks between Washington Avenue and the James River. High barbed-wire fences and gates keep the public at bay.

Company union

This high-security profile reflects the fact that 65 percent of the shipyard's business is navy contracts. Nuclear-powered cruisers, aircraft carriers, and submarines are all built and repaired in the South Yard. Construction and repair of commercial ships are concentrated in the newer North Yard, opened in 1975.

About half the shipyard workers are Black. Two to three thousand women are scattered in both clerical and production jobs.

"When I first got this job, I thought I could really become somebody—that it meant something to work in the shipyard," a Black woman told the *Militant*. "But now it's an embarrassment, a humiliation."

The same sentiment was echoed by

several workers, young and old.

They pointed to the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association—the company union since 1939—as a source of their frustration.

"The PSA was owned and run by the shipyard," a young Black welder said. "That shouldn't be. A real union would have nothing to do with the yard."

"Why, the PSA even supported Virgi-

'We won because we have a movement. We can't be stopped.'

nia's 'right to work' laws at one time," an older worker recalled.

The PSA's cozy relationship with the company enabled it to beat back four different union challenges over the years, three from the International Association of Machinists and one from the Boilermakers.

A little more than two years ago, a group of shipyard workers decided the time had come to take on the PSA again. This time they turned to the United Steelworkers.

The small organizing nucleus eventually grew into a committee of 700, composed of workers from the yard's various departments and trades. This network of experienced and respected leaders, able to spread the union's message at a moment's notice, was the key to the USWA's success, according to Hower.

Despite the business establishment's well-financed campaign to portray the USWA as a bunch of "outsiders and carpetbaggers," union organizers collected a record 12,000 cards for the USWA. When representation elections were held on January 31, 1978, 53 percent of the voters chose the steelworkers.

'Go Steelworkers'

The organizing drive was capped by a pre-election rally of 6,000 workers and then a triumphant march down Washington Avenue. "Go Steelworkers" stickers plastered on car bumpers and hard hats continue to identify union supporters.

"We won because we had a movement; we couldn't be stopped," said organizing committee member Edgar Lee, proudly sporting his USWA volunteer organizer button.

It was the biggest organizing victory the labor movement, North or South, had seen in decades. But it was only one battle in the war with Tenneco. The company has refused to accept the election results and will not come to the bargaining table.

First the shipyard appealed to the National Labor Relations Board. Not only was its appeal denied, but the

NLRB turned around and declared the PSA guilty of harassing and intimidating USWA organizers. After the NLRB certified USWA Local 8888, the company turned to the courts for further delays.

On March 5 the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond will consider the shipyard's charges that the USWA committed "election irregularities."

"The elections were held on company property, during company time, workers were escorted to the polls by company supervisors, the company furnished voter lists and voter identification badges, the company wrote letters to absentees urging a vote for the PSA," replied Wayne Crosby, president of Local 8888, in a letter to the local paper.

Despite these odds, the USWA won. "So who's being unfair," Crosby rhetorically asked.

The shipyard is now orchestrating a flag-waving campaign for its "democratic right to a day in court." But what the company really wants is months and years in court—time to stall the union, time to intimidate and wear down the workers. And there's nothing "democratic" about that.

Right now the workers have no union protection at all. USWA militants are being fired, suspended, and disciplined. Grievance hearings are held without union representation.

"The workers cannot, and I emphasize cannot, continue working under the conditions which this company chooses to impose upon them," Hower said. "March 5 is way too long to wait. These workers are ready."

The Newport News shipyard strike is shaping up as the first major class showdown of 1979.

"The thought of the yard's 19,000 maintenance and production workers walking off their jobs is enough to send cold chills down one's spine," editorialized the Newport News *Daily News*.

Bosses across the South are shaking from the same chills. Their unorganized workers will be inspired by a union victory in open-shop, "right to work" Virginia. Thousands of workers in nonunion shipyards in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas will have their eyes on Newport News. So will 66,000 DuPont chemical workers—in twenty-six southern plants—who are next on the USWA organizing list.

Tenneco itself, the country's fifteenth-largest corporation, employs thousands in the nonunion South and Southeast. A union victory in the company's shipyard will set off repercussions throughout the Tenneco empire.

Newport News may also be a test of Carter's wage guidelines, which threaten working people across the country.

Newport News shipyard workers earn an average of \$5.90 an hour, compared to \$7 in unionized shipyards and \$9 for USWA members in basic steel.

To undercut the steelworkers' appeal—and bolster Carter's guidelines—Tenneco recently granted a 6.5 percent wage increase. But this concession only bolstered confidence in what a USWA strike could win.

Asked what she thought of Carter's 7 percent limit, Local 8417 striker Rita McClenney replied, "After two years of picketing in the rain, cold, and heat, I don't think much of it. We have a saying in the South: 'We want the whole hog, not just part of it.' We're fighting for everything we can get."

Safety

"Union safety committees composed of workers" will be another high-priority demand, Hower said. In 1976 the company launched a well-publicized "Safety Sense" campaign. Its emblems and mottos deck the yard. But signs come a lot cheaper than safe working conditions.

Among the chief hazards caused by company negligence, Hower listed poor ventilation, cancer-causing asbestos dust, and radiation exposure.

"I could talk to you about safety

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